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Moule, Horace M.
Christian oratory

CHRISTIAN ORATORY;

AN INQUIRY INTO ITS HISTORY DURING THE FIRST FIVE CENTURIES.

BY

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ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ οὖν πρεσβεύομεν.
οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου.

SAINT PAUL.

Non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus.

MINUCIUS FELIX.

TO MY FATHER,

This Book

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

THIS ESSAY OBTAINED THE HULSEAN PRIZE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE IN THE YEAR 1858.

CLAUSES *directed by the* FOUNDER *to be always prefixed to the* HULSEAN DISSERTATION.

CLAUSES from the WILL of the Rev. JOHN HULSE, late of Elworth, in the County of Chester, clerk, deceased: dated the twenty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven; expressed in the words of the Testator, as he, in order to prevent mistakes, thought proper to draw and write the same himself, and directed that such clauses should every year be printed, to the intent that the several persons, whom it might concern and be of service to, might know that there were such special donations or endowments left for the encouragement of Piety and Learning, in an age so unfortunately addicted to Infidelity and Luxury, and that others might be invited to the like charitable, and, as he humbly hoped, seasonable and useful Benefactions.

He directs that certain rents and profits (now amounting to about a hundred pounds yearly) be paid to such learned and ingenious person, in the University of Cambridge, under the degree of Master of Arts, as shall compose, for that year, the best Dissertation, in the English language, on the Evidences in general, or on the Prophecies or Miracles in particular, or any other particular Argument,

whether the same be direct or collateral proofs of the Christian Religion, in order to evince its truth and excellence; the subject of which Dissertation shall be given out by the Vice-Chancellor, and the Masters of Trinity and Saint John's, his Trustees, or by some of them, on New Year's Day annually; and that such Dissertation as shall be by them, or any two of them, on Christmas Day annually, the best approved, be also printed, and the expense defrayed out of the Author's income under his Will, and the remainder given to him on Saint John the Evangelist's Day following; and he who shall be so rewarded, shall not be admitted at any future time as a Candidate again in the same way, to the intent that others may be invited and encouraged to write on so sacred and sublime a subject.

He also desires, that immediately following the last of the clauses relating to the prize Dissertation, this invocation may be added: "May the Divine Blessing for ever go along with all my benefactions; and may the Greatest and the Best of Beings, by his all-wise Providence and gracious influence, make the same effectual to His own glory, and the good of my fellow-creatures!"

Subject proposed by the Trustees for the Year 1858:

The History of Christian Oratory during the First Five Centuries.

PREFACE.

THE provisions of the foregoing document will have made plain both the occasion of my writing, and the reason of my publishing, this 'Inquiry.' But even when going into print has not been directly a matter of his own choice, an author would be glad to think that his pains have not been quite thrown away upon others. And I will here very briefly state how far it seems to me that these pages may be of use.

They may serve, first, to map out for the reader the five earliest centuries of our era; or to suggest new thoughts about their divisions and characteristics, where a tolerably distinct conception of them exists already. They may help also to bring out into greater prominence—obviously not for theological scholars, but only for less accurately informed persons—the large amount of literary and antiquarian interest which is bound up with the study of Patristic Literature. On this point I will quote some words of Mr Isaac Taylor, a writer who will not be suspected of an undue reverence for the relics of 'ancient Christianity,' but who has recently expressed himself thus[1]:—

'Treasures, convertible to the purposes of Christian edification, as well as of entertainment, are yet entombed in

[1] See the paper called *Nilus* in the series entitled *Logic in Theology and other Essays.*

the folios of the Patristic Literature. But if it be so, why have not these riches been made more generally available for the benefit of the Christian community of these times? This is a question which it is natural and reasonable to ask, and for an answer to which we need not go far. The reader of this Essay, for one, and the writer of it for another, may each of us find it in or among his own prepossessions, his preoccupations—whether theological or ecclesiastical: or let now the reader and the writer be quite candid and confidential—for no one is listening at the door; it is in your prejudice, kind reader, perhaps, and in mine, that we must look for the obstruction which shuts us out from the enjoyment of an inheritance whereupon otherwise we might forthwith enter—an inheritance left to us by our predecessors in the Christian life.

'If, in opening the voluminous records and remains of the Christian life of the early ages, I seek to enhearten myself for a labour so arduous as is implied in the perusal of this mass, by help of some new-born zeal in behalf of this or that religious whim, or superstition, or sectarian belief—if I do this, I shall gather, as I go, the chaff—I shall leave untouched the precious grain.'

That is a true testimony, as it certainly is an unbiassed one; and it is hoped that the pages of this 'Inquiry' may do something to corroborate it. They may help to suggest the important place which the Church Fathers may fairly challenge, not only as an interesting study, but as a personally useful one. The extreme of neglect with which their works have been treated is even harder to be accounted for, when they have grown to some extent upon our acquaintance, than the extreme of veneration. For, when we are reading Tertullian or Chrysostom or Augustine, we

are examining the relics and entering into the spirit not only of devout Christians, but of remarkable men; of men belonging to a remote period, a period of paramount importance in its bearing upon European history; of men who spoke and wrote in languages at once foreign and familiar to us, and of which the great models are early put into our hands; lastly, of men who lived under social and political institutions widely differing from our own, much more strongly marked with great blots of obvious evil, and therefore presenting a far more severe gymnasium than we commonly enter, for the athletic practice, first of constancy and fortitude, afterwards of moral and intellectual self-control.

Now, when we take up an ordinary Biblical commentary written by one of our contemporaries or immediate predecessors, the level is indeed dull and unrelieved. It is not so with the average of commentaries and sermons which were written fifteen hundred years ago. In this case we are looking at the documents of Christian Faith, as it were over the shoulders of students and expositors with whom, Christianity apart, we have nothing, or very little, in common. The very act of translating their language wakens the attention; the effort necessary to transport us from our own point of view to theirs throws a new light into the numberless passages of real merit, and often freshens those that are dull. And this has been the feeling of more than one modern divine, whose predilections may be generally considered to have led him in another direction. Among the well-scored books of Archbishop Leighton at Dunblane, there were few more frequently marked with the pencil, than the *Homilies* of St Chrysostom, and the *Minor Treatises* of St Augustine[1].

[1] Burgon's *Memoir of P. F. Tytler*, p. 251.

I will only add, that where in any case, as in the instance of St Gregory of Nazianzum, there seemed to me to be noticeable weakness or fault, I have not hesitated to speak of it as fully as my narrow limits permitted.

H. M. MOULE.

April, 1859.

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[1] It may, at first sight, seem to be an omission that no separate chapter has been allotted to Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine in their character of *Painters of Manners*. It was felt, however, that the frequency with which this characteristic is mentioned, in almost every Church History, would justify the course that has been here pursued.

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PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Religious and Artistic Elements in Preaching considered, and a Method of Criticism suggested.

Οὕτως ἡ ὄντως σοφία καὶ ἡ ὄντως παίδευσις οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβος.

CHRYSOSTOM. *Opera*, 118 D, (*Adversus Oppugn. Vit. Monach.* III.)

CHAP. I.

A remark by the late Professor Blunt

PROFESSOR BLUNT, in his instructive Lecture on Sermons[1], takes occasion to allude to the passage in Fénélon, where the styles of Cicero and Demosthenes are contrasted. The mere eulogy of 'O le bel Orateur,' is set against the practical victory implied in the words 'Allons! battons Philippe.' And this latter result is characterised as the only effect of eloquence which the servant of God should for a moment think of.

suggests a method of criticising sermons.

Now in reviewing the history of Christian Oratory, as it waxed or waned through the five centuries which we have here to consider, the principle thus laid down is all-important. It suggests a method of criticism, by following out which we may arrive at a juster estimate than is commonly taken, whether of the excellencies or the shortcomings of the early Christian Preachers. And some such method we most assuredly want amidst the conflicting opinions of this age: when it is so usual to hear over-estimates or under-estimates of the Church Fathers generally,

[1] *Duties of a Parish Priest*, p. 171. There is no need of pointing out the historical inaccuracy implied in Fénélon's words. The Athenians, *as a fact*, did not always respond to the noble appeals of the 'opposition-speaker.'—Grote, XI. 460.

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pronounced on more or less insufficient grounds, and held in obedience rather to some foregone determination, than to any sound conclusion from the facts. The suggestiveness of Blunt's remark amounts to this; that it indicates the limits of the Christian and the artistic elements, which should be observed in any age and in any kind of preaching. The discussion of these limits is intended to constitute the subject of this introductory chapter; and the method of criticism mentioned above will shape itself into form as we proceed.

The popular view of preaching

The popular view of preaching appears to go upon a misapprehension, sometimes of the essence of Christianity, sometimes of the construction and aim of sermons. It places the Christian preacher in a false position, on this side towards his subject-matter, and on that towards his hearers. The prevailing method of reasoning seems to be of this sort[1]. That it is the preacher's business to urge upon men their duty as moral and religious beings; to deter them from vice and excite to the practice of virtue, to encourage, elevate, and solemnize the mind by the prospect of immortality. That the topics which arise naturally out of these, or which depend upon them, are of transcendent importance, and ought to be profoundly interesting to all classes of mankind. That thus no subjects are so easily susceptible of being made impressive as those which the preacher has to deal with; and that these absolutely teem with oratorical capabilities. That, in consequence of this, the rhetoric of the pulpit should be, even artistically, the best kind of rhetoric; and the pulpit orator be raised above the head of all other public speakers. And that there is, therefore, fair ground for surprise and disappointment at the fewness of those who have acquired oratorical distinction while proclaiming the Gospel of Christ.

is opposed, first, to a right conception of the preacher's subject-matter.

Inferences such as these are untrue, in the first place, to a just conception of the preacher's *subject-matter*. It is

[1] See the *Penny Cyclopædia*, XVI. Art. *Oratory*.

manifestly to his advantage, on the score of mere art, that he should have a dignified, an impressive, a moving theme. But it is quite possible that a subject-matter should be, and as a fact Christianity is now and has ever been, too absorbing and too impressive for the requirements of pure art. Gibbon may round off a period[1] by talking of an union of profane eloquence with orthodox piety: and may apparently endorse the popular comparison of Basil and Gregory with the old Greek masters of oratory. But no one knew better than Gibbon did, that such an union as this was really an impossibility, and such a comparison really beside the mark; or, to speak more strictly, that the results of such an union could not by any possibility be made successful, artistically speaking, because they would be heterogeneous and incomplete; while the comparison of which he speaks would manifestly stand or fall on the same issue.

Essential distinction between Pagan and Christian modes of thought

That issue involves all the manifold distinctions between the so-called Romantic and Classic schools of thought[2]. When we come really to reflect that Demosthenes and Cicero held the warm and waking present to be the sole reality, and regarded a limitless future only as a dream in the obscure distance, while to Ambrose and Chrysostom life was the shadow, and immortality the imperious fact;—we learn to feel something of the vast chasm which Christianity had laid open between the heroes of the Bema or the Rostra and those of the pulpit. What a strange bewilderment must have been felt by the episcopal ex-pupils of the unwearied and often disappointed Libanius, when they felt the familiar props of profane Art tottering, swaying, and at length subsiding beneath the stress of some awakening appeal, which came rushing from the depths of their souls independently of Art altogether.

[1] Gibbon, chap. xxvii. Vol. v. 18.

[2] See the remarks of A. W. Schlegel in *Dramatic Literature,* Lect. I.

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illustrated by the poems of Gregory Nazianzen.

Dean Milman[1] has entered somewhat at length into the questions raised by the poems which the great Nazianzen composed in his last years; and has pointed out how thoroughly incompatible are Christian thoughts and images with the language[2] of Homer and the Tragedians. The profound self-scrutiny and elaborate exposition of his moral being on the part of the poet, could only have been undertaken by a man with whom immortality was the one all-important idea, investing even the emotions of an individual with a peculiar and a momentous interest. To him those emotions could no longer be the subjects of cold analysis and investigation; but were deserving of the minutest record and most anxious inquiry, as elements of life and death not only in a soul that was to live for ever, but in a soul that was to stand before the judgment-seat[3]. The 'old order' was rapidly changing, and giving place, not to the new only, but to the alien and the incongruous. And if the recognition of this truth is rightly applied in the case of verse-writing, we may use the same criterion, in a less degree, in judging of oratory as well. The Greek and Latin channels, of prose and verse alike, refused to hold the unusual torrent, sweeping along with its turbid and irresistible flow.

Sermons are to be judged as essentially spiritual addresses.

It must be borne in mind, however, that we decline to weigh the early Christian Sermons (in common with all other sermons properly so called) in the balance of pure Art, not only because they belonged, more or less, to a particular school, but because they were, in their very essence, earnest spiritual addresses. Thus it would be unjust at the present day to compare, on one and the same principle of criticism and as homogeneous compositions, a good Sermon and a good Speech at the Bar or in Parlia-

[1] *Hist. of Christianity*, III. 197.

[2] The first of Gregory's poems consists of rather more than two thousand iambics: the second was written in hexameters.

[3] Cf. Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, III. 265.

ment. And for this reason: that the relation of the end to the means in those sacred, as set against the similar relation in secular, compositions, is beyond all comparison important, and oftentimes absolutely overwhelming. I know of no more ready illustration of our principle, so far as it has at present evolved itself, than is supplied by the Oxford method of treating the Scriptures in the case of candidates for a class[1]. The parallel is, briefly, this. What we look for in candidates for University honours is an educated activity and vigour of intellect. Yet a man may be a thorough practical student of the Bible, and may make the very best practical use of it, without possessing any intellectual activity whatever. It is therefore declined at Oxford to class a man's Biblical knowledge with matters which are subjected to the purely intellectual tests. Similarly, we look for Art in Oratory generally. Yet the Christian preacher may be eloquent without any conscious use of art, often without any use of it at all. We therefore decline to employ merely artistic tests in the examination of Christian Oratory. And thus we are not to weigh Sermons, composition against composition, with merely artistic or secular speeches; the subject-matter forbids it. And the popular opinion, which throws blame upon preachers for not outshining all other orators on their own ground, is therefore founded on a defective conception of Christianity, in reference to its subject-matter.

Parallel drawn from the method of treating the Scriptures in the Oxford Examinations.

The historical groundwork of Christianity, as opposed to a foundation resting on a system of ideas: the miraculous agency employed at first: the single aim and lofty standard which have constituted its grand characteristics from the beginning even until now, being sometimes more apparent on the surface, sometimes less—all these and many more

Some further considerations which have been employed by writers on Christian Oratory.

[1] A similar method has been adopted at Oxford in the recent examinations of persons who are not members of the University. See the *Delegates' Pamphlet* (Parker) and Mr T. D. Acland's *Account of the Origin and Objects of the New Oxford Examinations.*

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points have been handled by writers on Christian Oratory, some arguing from them the probable superiority, some the inferiority[1] of the preacher, when compared with public speakers of other kinds.

Passing by these considerations, however, it will be much more directly useful to our present purpose of framing some preliminary method by which to guide our estimate of the early Christian discourses, if we turn to a second defect in the popular view of preaching mentioned above, and notice briefly the antagonism between that view and a due recognition of the relation in which *a preacher should stand towards his hearers.* The Christian preacher in every age is bound to 'lay himself out to put down sin and save a brother's soul[2].' A momentous work like this, when honestly taken up, often proves itself to be a strange leveller in the matter of intellectual distinction. This 'laying out' of a man's self has operated not unfrequently to the entire removal of a morbid nervousness and self-depreciation, not to speak of the mitigation of positive disadvantages, such as defective utterance, or imperfect education. And none the less has its influence been felt in an opposite direction. A preacher, that is to say, who has lost sight of this ultimate object, and who has spent himself, however successfully, in the choice of words, and the construction of sentences, has often proved, and will always be liable to prove, utterly powerless, where an artless but faithful and earnest man has performed a great and solid work. '*Cavendum est enim*,' says Augustine[3] in a treatise to which we shall have to make frequent reference, '*ne fugiant ex animo quæ dicenda sunt, dum attenditur, ut arte dicantur.*'

The popular view of preaching is opposed, secondly, to a right conception of the preacher's relation towards his hearers.

Aug. De Doctr. Christ. iv. 3.

It is hardly possible to overrate, and the Church Fathers

[1] Blair, in his feeble 29th Lecture, has given a kind of parallel statement of the advantages and disadvantages which a preacher of Christianity has to expect from the nature of his subject.

[2] Blunt, *Duties of a Parish Priest*, p. 171.

[3] *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV. 3.

of the fourth century were the very last to underrate, (all at least in theory and almost all in a noble practice), this importance of the moral element in preaching, as weighed against the artistic: this great fact that a man must *be* something towards his hearers, before he can *say* anything to them so as actually to arrive *ad finem eloquentiæ*. The art-loving Quinctilian, as is well known, defines his Orator to be a '*good* man skilled in speaking[1].' Insisting very strongly upon moral goodness, as an essential quality, he finds not unnaturally some trouble in qualifying the paradox. In the case of the Christian orator no qualification would be needed. He *must* be a 'good man.' And an unsoundness or depravity in his moral being will, in the long run, as surely tell against the most brilliant intellectual endowments, as wholeheartedness and moral energy will enhance the effect of the very meanest. The fourth century of the Church, the golden age of its eloquence, was especially characterized by the great moral triumphs of its leaders. And the influence which such victories must have had upon the power of their eloquence, it is not easy to exaggerate. Who can read of Valens before Basil, of Theodosius before Ambrose, or of the calm and fearless demeanour of Chrysostom towards the Council of the Oak, without feeling the intensity which those commanding characters must have thrown into those more than eloquent tongues? 'Know you not,' said Modestus to Basil[2], having been sent before by Valens to sound the Archbishop, 'that I have power to strip you of all your possessions, to banish you, to deprive you of life?' To this Basil replied, 'He who possesses nothing, can lose nothing: all you can take from me is the wretched garments I wear, and the few books, which are my only wealth. As to exile, the earth

The true finis eloquentiæ *is, in preaching, a moral not an artistic one.*

Moral triumphs of some among the Church Fathers.

[1] *Instit. Orator.* XII. 1: 'Sit ergo nobis orator .....vir bonus, dicendi peritus.'

[2] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity,* III. 126.

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is the Lord's[1]: everywhere it will be my country, or rather my place of pilgrimage. Death will be a mercy: it will but admit me into life; I have long been dead to this world.' And on Modestus expressing his wonder at this unusual tone of address, 'You have never then,' said the unshaken prelate, 'conversed before with a bishop.' It was this inward completeness, this entire education of the soul in the school of Christ, that formed the real mainspring of Basil's authority, and that has been the inspiration of many another Christian minister, inferior to him in natural endowment, but his equal in spiritual influence. And by the side of this sterling preparation of heart, how insignificant must have appeared in his own eyes, as they do in ours, all the appliances of his profane education,—the studies at Constantinople under Libanius, and the subsequent Attic training.

Aug. De Doctr. Christ. iv. 13, *and iv.* 25.

None of the Church Fathers was more deeply penetrated than Augustine with a sense of the responsibilities of the Christian orator, and of the entire subordination of means to end which should pervade all his efforts. 'It is the duty,' he says[2], 'of the eloquent preacher, when he is urging any point of practice, not only to teach so as to instruct, nor to please so as to get a hold of his hearer, but so to influence as that he may gain the mastery over him.' There is another passage in the same treatise[3], pregnant with sound practical suggestion, where he draws a distinction between the *officium* and the *finis* of preaching; and in which, without in the smallest degree detracting from the importance of the first, and of the means which should be adopted with a view to its discharge, he points out its complete dependence upon the other. The very

[1] Cf. the *Antitheta* in the sermon ascribed to Chrysostom at the period of the Council of the Oak.—Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, III. 229.

[2] *De Doctr. Christ.* IV. 13. The whole passage has a reference to Cic. Orat. 21: 'ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut detectet, ut flectat.'

[3] *Ibid.* 25.

spirit of Augustine's teaching with regard to sermons is this; that a preacher may delight in multiplying the meshes of rhetorical argument and illustration; but that he has no right to weave that net, and will have no solid success in weaving it, without the distinct and constant recognition of its being but a means wherewithal 'to catch men.'

Popular view opposed, thirdly, to a right estimate of the labour which is indispensable to first-rate oratory.

There is one consideration which affects the preacher more nearly in his own person, and which strongly militates against the merely artistic estimate of sermons. This is the intense and unremitting *labour*, which has necessarily to be bestowed on the composition of any discourse that can lay claim on artistic grounds to first-rate excellence. The cultivation of those powers on which concise argumentation and continuous harangue depend, has proved no insignificant task, no mere *πάρεργον* of intellectual training, to those who have achieved the rank of masters in the performance. There were periods in the histories both of Greece and Rome, when this sort of cultivation was most intimately bound up with the practical business of life. Mr Grote has given a clear account[1] of this state of things, in reference to the fourth century B. C., the golden age of Grecian eloquence. It was the interest alike of public and private men to gain some power of persuading and confuting, of defending one's self against accusation, and in cases of necessity of accusing others. On the one hand, political life among the Grecian cities had become much more clearly pronounced than formerly, so as to demand a corresponding increase of talent in the working politicians. And, on the other, the great number and peculiar organization of the courts of justice, more particularly the necessity of personal advocacy wherever a man required redress for wrong offered to himself, or was accused of wrong by another, made it a point at once of honour or

Practical inducements to intense oratorical labour in Greece.

[1] Grote, *History of Greece*, chap. lxvii. Vol. VIII. 463.

CHAP. I. expediency with every citizen laying claim to character or position, that he should acquire some skill in the art of

At Rome. speaking. How much there was to be gained in Rome by the same means, is well known to every reader of those parts of Cicero, which bear directly on the subject of oratory, or on his own personal history. It was not without practising the strictest self-denial, not without a rigid abstinence from the commonest and most allowable kinds of relaxation[1], that he had himself amassed that amount of reading which makes a 'full man,' a storehouse from the abundance of which his own mouth spoke, and which he justly held to be an essential requisite in every first-rate orator. His more direct and special oratorical training was also of the most laborious kind[2].

But, though this special training is not absolutely beyond the Christian preacher's attainment, and though the preachers in the fourth century had opportunities before their ordination of going through a most efficient course of

The preacher's office precludes his labouring in this degree. it, which opportunities not a few of them embraced, yet the very nature of their office precluded their taking advantage of them in the same *degree* as the secular orator. The imperative necessity in the Christian preacher's case of his speaking by character as much as, or rather far more than by words, and the engrossing importance of his end in speaking, the setting before his hearers their eternal interests, and the persuading them to secure their eternal happiness,—somewhat different ends from the Aristotelian *τὰ συμφέροντα* and *εὐδαιμονία*[3],—these considerations would seem to place it beyond his power ever to acquire an artistic perfection in eloquence, if for no other reason at least for this, that they would forbid the necessary expenditure of time. And what he must abate of preparation in coming

[1] Cicero, *pro Archia*, 6.

[2] Cicero, *Brutus*, 90: 'Studiosissime in dialectica versabar, quæ quasi contracta et astricta eloquentia putanda est.' This passage with the immediate context is quoted by Mr Grote (VIII. 464).

[3] Arist. *Rhet.* I. 5. 6.

to the trial, we must abate of a pure artistic criterion in estimating the results.

But, when once we have made such abatements as these, and have honestly recognised them, and have thus cleared our minds of many false conceptions and vain expectations about the oratory of the pulpit, we may confidently and thankfully lay claim on its behalf to a very high rank in the scale of human eloquence. Christian Oratory, an expression which implies the adaptation of art to subjects which transcend all art and all science alike, is however no contradiction in terms. For, in the first place, Christianity requires of us, or rather it almost unconsciously involves, *an universal consecration* to God of all that we possess: not of one endowment, or one acquirement only, but emphatically of all. A complete regeneration or revivification is contemplated, with a distinct view to action. This is a regeneration not necessarily of the intellect nor solely of the affections. It should be said rather to seize hold upon the whole moral nature of the man in such a way, as that to every one his own proper labour is made to wear a different aspect; art and science and history to the educated man, the daily labour of his hands to the uneducated. The difference will soon be made to give external evidence of its existence; and if a man has been trained in the art of speaking, he will consecrate that art to the new and higher end of 'confessing with his mouth the Lord Jesus.' He will find it, as we have seen, powerless or imbecile in many instances, in many others entirely superseded; but the art will go for what it is worth. Thus Augustine, whom nothing escaped that was of practical service to the spread of Christianity, points out how useful rhetoric may be, and how expedient it is that it should be enlisted on the side of Christianity[1]. 'Shall the adversaries of the faith be able to state what is *untrue* with brevity,

Christian Oratory is, however, no contradiction in terms.

For, first, Christianity involves an universal consecration of our powers.

Aug. De Doctr. Christ. iv. 2.

[1] *De Doctr. Christ.* IV. 2.

CHAP. I. clearness, and plausibility; while we give so poor an account of the *truth*, that it makes people weary to listen to it, prevents them from gaining any insight into its real meaning, and leaves them disinclined to believe it?'

Chrysost. Op. 118 D. And thus Chrysostom, who is most explicit in the subordination of human aids, and who goes so far as to say that the essential skill and the essential training of the Christian orator are nothing else than the fear of God[1], nevertheless takes care to qualify his zealous renunciation. 'Let no one,' he says, 'suppose that I am laying down a rule, which would exempt youths from mental training altogether. Only make me sure that they possess the things needful, and I would be the last to hinder the addition to their abundance of this blessing besides.' The precise value which he would assign to the orator's training may be best gathered from the words which follow[2]: 'As when the foundations are tottering, and the dwelling-house and entire fabric are in danger of falling down, it would be the last extreme of madness and folly to run to the plasterers, and not to the builders; just so on the other hand, when the walls are standing, safely and firmly, it would argue an impertinent obstinacy (*ἀκαίρου φιλονεικίας*) to stand in the way of any one who wished to plaster them.' *These ought ye to have done* might have expressed in brief words his feelings with regard to the preacher's substantive education. But *not to leave the other undone* would have been added none the less, on behalf of the special artistic equipment[3].

Ib. 118 E.

[1] Chrysostom. *Opera*, 118 D (*Adversus Oppugn. Vit. Monach.* 3): *οὕτως ἡ ὄντως σοφία καὶ ἡ ὄντως παίδευσις οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβος.*

[2] Ibid. 118 E.

[3] Cf. *Hom. ad Ephes.* 21 (on chap. vi. 1—3) and the advice he there gives to parents. 'I hear Paul saying, *Bring them up in the nurture, &c.* Seek not then to render them orators, but instruct them in Christian wisdom. If they be deficient in eloquence it mattereth not; but if Christian wisdom be wanting, the greatest eloquence will profit nothing. Every thing comes of holiness, not eloquence: of humility, not oratory: of deeds, not words.'—Neander, *Life of Chrysostom*, p. 408.

And this passage is followed al-

Again, we shall feel still less inclined to regard Christian Oratory as a contradiction in terms, if we remember the distinct and palpable existence which was imparted by Christianity to a moral *self-consciousness*. No quality of which our nature is capable was so likely as this was, to generate that 'abundance' in the heart, out of which 'the mouth speaketh.' It is this that awakens a thousand new sensibilities in a heart inanimate before; and tunes the strings, whether joyous or grave, that go to make up the harmony of the human soul. It is this that makes us sometimes sit and weep by the waters, hanging our harps upon the trees; and that sometimes fills our mouth with laughter and our tongue with joy, as when the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion. For this it is that unveils and interprets the whole spiritual significance *to us* of those ancient hymns of unutterable sorrow and joy. It makes us thrill with the hazardous turning-points and the tremendous issues of the great spiritual conflict, the internecine war that is for ever being waged between the law of the members and the law of the mind; and gives such an intensity to the words 'bondage' and 'liberty' as was unknown even to the ancient Hellenic haters of despotism. As it was of old, so now it is, and ever shall be; the captivity is no sooner turned, than the tongue is loosed. And this truth stands out in vastly magnified proportions when, as at long intervals it happens, a great crisis becomes visible in the spiritual conflicts of nations. Such a period was the period of the Reformation; such was the fourth century of the Christian Church.

And, secondly, Christianity gives rise to a moral self-consciousness.

The effects of this quality.

At epochs like these (and this will form our last consideration), it has generally been found that the greatest intellects and noblest natures have been attracted to the

At great crises in the spiritual history of nations, great men are found to take part in the struggle.

most immediately by these qualifying words: 'I say not this to prevent your giving them a learned education, but to prevent your expending your care solely thereupon.' —Ibid.

CHAP. I.

struggle, and compelled to take an active part. There is unlimited scope in such movements for the employment of the highest power and the highest goodness. There is always a fight to be carried on, demanding at once the exercise of vigour and of discretion, first against external foes, and presently afterwards against enemies and murmurers within the very precincts of the camp. And this fight was strenuously fought, in the period of which we are now to treat, by those two great men, so different in natural constitution, so thoroughly one in loyalty to the Cross, St John Chrysostom and St Augustine. So fought also the goodly phalanx that rank beneath them, strong and eminent in themselves, but yet not attaining to the first two; from Basil and Gregory in the East, and Ambrose in the West, down through a cloud of less illustrious witnesses.

Such were Chrysostom and Augustine, and others in a less degree.

Dean Milman, in a masterly paragraph[1], has sketched the prominent characteristics of some of the chief leaders; —the commanding sway of Chrysostom over the popular mind in Constantinople; the comprehension and system of Augustine's intellect, animated by the vehement African passion; the link that was supplied by Jerome between the East and West, the translation by him of Syrian monasticism into Europe, and of European dialect into Syria; the strong practical character and moral energy of Ambrose; the Trinitarian pertinacity of Hilary at Poitiers, an outpost of Christianity upon the very borders of civilization; the missionary zeal of St Martin of Tours; the modified Orientalism of Basil and the Gregories; and the almost paternal relation to all these, in point of orthodoxy, which was held by Athanasius, its well-nigh eponymous champion.

But it is obviously upon the names of Chrysostom and of Augustine that we wish here to insist, inasmuch as they were emphatically the two men who would have attained

[1] *Hist. of Christianity*, III. 187 sq.

certain eminence in any age, and whose commanding qualities were drawn out to their full extent by being enlisted in the conflict of the fourth century on the side of Catholic Christianity. Augustine was indeed, as we shall hereafter see, the leading mind that laid the stamp of its supremacy not only on his own age, but on many succeeding ages of the Church. When men of this *calibre* become bound up with any great movement of the human mind, there never fail to come from them utterances worthy the most earnest attention of the theological, or philosophical, or historical student.

Summing up of the first chapter.

It will now, perhaps, be sufficiently clear where we would place and how it is proposed to estimate the oratorical remains of the Church Fathers. They are the works of men, more or less eminent in their own right: but who had become thoroughly interpenetrated with an absorbing transcendental agency, the influence of which is to be traced in their writings, almost always to an equal, and often to a far greater extent, than that of their education in the principles of human Art. The subject-matter is therefore peculiar: the end is paramount over the means.

They are consequently to be judged by a standard which reaches higher and wider than that of Art alone[1]: higher, that it may embrace what lies far above the sphere of Art; wider, that so opportunities may be gained of viewing, as

[1] Chrysostom not only regarded the Apostles (including even St Paul) in a kindred spirit to that which is here intended, but he endeavoured to persuade others so to regard and estimate them. A passage from *Hom. in* I *Cor.* iii. will make this plain. He had overheard a zealous Christian maintaining against a heathen, that Paul excelled Plato in eloquence and learning. Upon this he remarks that 'the Christian was contending against the very point which was most favourable to his cause; for, since the Apostles, ignorant as they were and gifted with no art of speech, could overthrow the systems of the ancient philosophers, and amidst so many difficulties accomplish what none of those philosophers had been able to effect,—this of itself was the best proof that not human wisdom but the grace of God had worked through them.'—Neander, *Life of Chrysostom*, p. 305.

The epithet 'ignorant' is, of course, to be understood in a very qualified sense as applied to St Paul.

CHAP. I. it were, *in perspective* the varied edifice of Christian oratory, and that we may never mistake what is due only to the style for essential parts of the building, nor, on the other hand, deny to style and ornamentation the welcome irradiation they often diffuse, the practical uses they sometimes subserve.

CHAPTER II.

An Historical Review of the prescribed Period.

To draw, to sheathe a useless sword,
To fool the crowd with glorious lies,
To cleave a creed in sects and cries,
To change the bearing of a word,
* * *
. . . . . I see in part
That all, as in some piece of art,
Is toil cöoperant to an end.

TENNYSON.

WE have thus indicated something of the spirit in which this inquiry should be undertaken. And we may now advance more hopefully to the real subject in hand, the arrangement of which it is proposed to conduct in something like the following order.

The design of the book explained.

This present chapter will contain a review of the history of the Roman world, political and ecclesiastical, during the wonderful period, or rather the series of periods, through which we have to pass. Going on to the third chapter, we shall perhaps see reason to adopt a threefold division of the prescribed centuries, recognising, first, the Apostolic era, then the Philosophic and Mystic, and, lastly, the Oratorical proper. We shall then come to examine certain *à priori* reasons why, in the first two of our divisions, Christianity was likely, beyond its own pale, to be indebted to other means than to oratory for its extension: and unlikely, within its own pale, to have needed any such stimulus as is implied in the idea of oratory. Having briefly noticed in the fourth chapter what may be termed the Antiquities of Preaching as they relate to the third, fourth,

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and fifth ages of Christianity, we shall come to the particular examination of individual Church Fathers, during the Apostolic period, in Chapter V., during the Philosophic and Mystic in VI. and VII., and during the Oratorical Proper in the four chapters next in order. The last chapter but one will be occupied on comparisons or parallels of the great rhetorical Church Fathers, on one side with their predecessors, the Hellenic and Roman masters of eloquence, on the other with some of their successors among the Christian preachers of modern Europe. A proposal for a conjectural estimate of what their merits would have been, apart from a connexion with Catholic Christianity, and for a notice of certain heretical preachers, will form the subject of the thirteenth and concluding chapter.

The utility of distinct chronological conception.

To come now to the historical review of the period. There will surely be no need of pointing out how useful, or rather how indispensable, it is to secure a distinct conception of chronological and other limits in an investigation of phenomena relating to the mental or spiritual history of man. And, if this is true generally, it is more especially true of the first five Christian centuries. Here we have men whose names are familiarly quoted in juxtaposition, Tertullian and Athanasius, for instance, or Cyprian and Ambrose, yet who were separated from each other notwithstanding by long intervals of time, and in many instances by a strongly pronounced individuality. By the conception of them all in common as Church Fathers, our view of them as living men is dimmed, or, to use a striking figure of Niebuhr's[1], it becomes *foreshortened*. He has remarked how apt we are to forget, that the period of time between Plautus and Claudian was equal to that which separates us from the Minnesingers. And just so we may fail to realise, that Cyril of Alexandria was as far from St Paul as we are

[1] The passage referred to occurs in a Paper on Antiquities, to be found in Vol. III. of *Niebuhr's Life and Letters*.

from the Wars of the Roses; Origen as far behind Ambrose, as a Queen Anne writer is behind our own day; or forget that Cyprian was a man battling for his very life; Athanasius, a hundred years later when Christian lives were no longer in peril from without, a combatant for orthodox integrity; and Chrysostom, later still, for a more than monastic morality and an unshackled episcopate.

Without more to say, therefore, on the practical utility of the plan, it is proposed at once and very briefly to recal the leading features, within the prescribed limits, of the Roman Imperial succession, of the Persecutions, of the Heretics (with a few remarks on the Schisms), and of the most eminent Pagan Schools of Thought.

The Empire. *Milman's periods to the death of Constantine.*

I. (THE EMPIRE.) In the case of the Imperial Succession, from the earliest limit of our period down to the death of Constantine, we cannot do better than follow the arrangement which has been pointed out by Milman[1] as the natural one. It marks out the years into four periods, of distinct character but unequal length. The first extends as far as the death of Nero (68): the second, to the accession of Trajan, twenty years later: the third, of greater length than the first two taken together, and of greater splendour than any other equal period of Roman History, ends with the death of M. Aurelius: the fourth, longer still, reaching to the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the State in 324.

All these four periods were marked by certain political characteristics, in which we, the children of a long-established Christianity, may fancy that we can always discern something advantageous to the religion. And, in a certain sense, we are right. The purely despotic and selfish spirit of the sovereigns in the first period, was likely enough to be blind or indifferent to the real progress and the real strength of Christianity. Hostile to all palpable and overt

[1] Milman, *History of Christianity*, III. 49.

CHAP. II. acts of innovation, such a tyranny wants the intelligence, or, which comes to much the same thing, the patience, requisite for the fathoming or probing that which is yet hidden and remote. But, on the other side, it was a state of terrible uncertainty that could admit of such results as followed the accident of Nero's fire, and gave the despot scope for the exhibition of that colossal self-will in its naked reality. Scarcely less terrible in the second period, and almost more monstrous in idea, was the complete system of *Delation* established by Domitian. The unprecedented confiscations, which became matters of ordinary occurrence, secured an eager and efficient staff of informers; and the fates of Flavius Clemens and Domitilla point to a secret mainspring of the Emperor's hatred within the bosom of his own family.

Nero.

Domitian.

During the greater part of the third period, the advantages enjoyed by Christianity from the character of the Emperors may be measured by this fact, that, so far as it gained any notice at all, it was the attention of *great men* that was paid to it. Yet how little positive benefit was likely to accrue from even this advantage, at least under the reign of Trajan, will appear more plainly if we remember the uncertain conceptions of Christianity which prevailed among even the great minds of that day. While Pliny[1], with a rare freedom and impartiality of judgment, was regarding the Christians in the light only of harmless delinquents, his friend Tacitus saw in them the hierophants of an *exitiabilis superstitio, sontes et novissima exempla meritos*[2]. Not that there is anything surprising, when we remember the shameless foreign importations, particularly from the East, which are recorded in the burning language of Juvenal as well as by the more indifferent Horace and Martial, that the most ready assent should have been often

Trajan.

Pliny and Tacitus.

[1] Neander, *Church History*, I. 135. (ed. Bohn).

[2] Tac. *Ann.* XV. 44.

given to the stories of Thyestean and kindred horrors among the Christians. What is important to be observed is this: that even a great mind like that of Tacitus, a mind accustomed to the weighing of evidence and familiar with the misrepresentations of design or ignorance, was not proof against these grossly erroneous and often grossly malicious attacks. CHAP. II.

The profound genius of Hadrian, though he was far enough from having any positive leaning towards Christianity, and the noble philanthropy of Antoninus Pius, were very great and very solid advantages to the rising faith. During the forty-four years of their sovereignty[1], the outrages of Barcochba in Palestine formed almost the only interruption to the prosperity of the Christians. But in the very second year of Aurelius the horizon began to be overcast; not the horizon of Christianity only, but of the Empire as well. The public ear was soon appalled with gloomy reports from the frontier-lines, and with the news of the consuming pestilence brought by the army of Verus from the shores of the Euphrates, to fill up the measure of the *annus calamitosus*[2]. The precise nature of Aurelius's standpoint towards Christianity, so far as it has been appreciated by the most enlightened of modern Church historians, will be drawn out more clearly a little further on[3], when we come to take a special notice of the persecutions. In this reign fell Justin Martyr, the aged Polycarp, and the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne. *Hadrian.* *Antoninus Pius.* *M. Aurelius.*

Meantime, we find the fourth period opening with a succession of emperors who shewed an actual leaning towards Christianity. Whether it were an ignorance of, or want of sympathy with, the spirit of old Rome, or an actual foreign extraction, or the natural consequences of a long foreign residence on military service, as was the case

[1] A.D. 117—161. [2] A.D. 166. [3] See below, p. 35.

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with some of the imperial adventurers, or finally, whether it were a besotted and indifferent sensualism, with which it is hard not to contrast (favourably to the latter) the military vigour of Trajan, and the unspotted austerity of Aurelius,—whichever of these circumstances was in operation as the cause, the new religion at all events found protectors during this period wearing the imperial purple.

Commodus.

The favourite mistress of Commodus, the celebrated Martia, is said to have had a connexion of some sort with the Christians; and so is the nurse of Caracalla. The taste for Oriental superstitions, which led captive the wretched mind of Elagabalus, had a twofold operation; weakening the influence of the established hierarchy, and encouraging

Alexander.

the toleration of a faith which came from Palestine. Alexander[1], who followed him, was a philosopher rather than a statesman; he had adopted a syncretic system, and was willing to allot a place to our Lord and to Abraham, among the objects of devotion which his private chapel

Philip.

contained. With regard to the emperor Philip, the gravest authorities[2] report that he was actually a Christian. At any rate there were Christians who believed him so to be; and the tendency of his government must have been emphatically in their favour to admit of such a belief, notwithstanding the unusual splendours with which he celebrated the religious rites of the Romans.

This state of comparative repose, broken in upon only

Severus.

by the accidental tempest under Severus, and the short-

Maximin.

lived[3] brutality of Maximin, was terminated at last by

Decius.

the systematic antagonism of Decius, which found its expression not now in the repeal of restrictive edicts only, but in the regular and energetic enlistment of state-influence on the side of popular fanaticism.

[1] His *Lararium*, mentioned below, contained also busts of Orpheus and Apollonius of Tyana.—(Cf. Neander, *Church History*, I. 173.)

[2] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* VI. 34.

[3] A.D. 235—238.

This may be regarded as the half-way point in our fourth Ante-Constantine period. The concessions of Valerian to a minister who opposed Christianity in the interest of Egyptian mysteries, the liberal edicts of Gallienus, combining with a restoration of peace to the oppressed faithful, some portion of dignity to their ministers, the hostile intentions of Aurelian, the carrying out of which was prevented by his death,—these were the chief fluctuations in that long season of almost undisturbed but dangerous security, which separated the Decian from the Diocletian scourge. Tremendous as was this last visitation, when the whole bitterness of the priestly and philosophic parties in unison animated the whole strength of the civil power in one concentrated attack, edicts and rescripts of ever-increasing barbarity being showered more especially upon the ministers of the Church, still Christianity had its roots far too deeply planted, and was far too vigorous in its growth, not to endure the shock. We understand something of the utter hopelessness, and, by consequence, of the intense fierceness of the movement, when we reflect that there were but ten short years[1] between the Edict of Nicomedia and the Edict of Milan.

Valerian. Gallienus. Aurelian.

The age of Constantine brings us to the close of Milman's periods. But one hundred and forty years intervene between the death of the first Christian Emperor and the fall of the Western Empire.

End of Milman's periods.

For the sake of adopting a well-known date, and one which marks a vast crisis in human history, we may subtract a few years from the exact number proposed in the title of this Essay, and assume 476 instead of 500 to be its forward limit. It is true that this proceeding will exclude from our subsequent review a few names, which might otherwise have found a place there, though little more than a place. Such are the names of Primasius, in Africa, in

The Fall of the Western Empire (476) taken as the forward limit of this Essay.

[1] A.D. 303—313.

CHAP. II.

whose case a tolerable substratum of original power had been cultivated by attendance upon Augustine's teaching: of Salvian[1] and Honoratus, at Marseilles, the former of whom was distinguished by a real purity of style, and an earnest though narrow conception of Christian duty, the latter by a reputation for extempore preaching; and, lastly, of Gelasius, Bishop of Rome, who continued the discussion of the 'supremacy' question, (a legacy from his predecessor Felix II.,) with the See of Constantinople, and whose book, *De Duabus Naturis*, is quoted against transubstantiation. A general comprehension, however, of the early Christian Orators loses little in accuracy by the omission of names like these: and to elaborate such a comprehension into a minute and particular one, falls obviously beyond the scope of an Essay.

Primasius, Salvian, Honoratus, and Gelasius, will be thus omitted.

The period 337—476 subdivided into four parts.

Adopting, therefore, the fall of the Western Empire as our extreme forward limit, we may assist the memory by arranging into four brief periods the hundred and thirty-nine years which preceded it. The first will extend from the death of Constantine in **337** to the Division of the Empire in June, **364**: the second, from **364** to **395**, the last year of Theodosius I.: the third, from **395** to **429**, when Genseric landed in Africa: and the fourth, from **429** to the memorable year of Extinction, **476**.

First subdivision. 337—364.

Almost the whole of the first in these four sections of time was occupied by the civil contests amongst each other of the sons of Constantine, by the struggle of Constantius with Magnentius and Vetranio, and of the same Emperor

[1] Compare the following passage of Niebuhr (*Lectures on Roman History*, III. 339): 'The writings of Salvianus, presbyter, or bishop, of Marseilles, are very remarkable. He wrote on the government of God and against avarice. The language is Gallican: his rhetorical tendency may be censured, but his works are extremely interesting on account of their political tendency, which is quite different from that we find in Orosius.' Then follow some very interesting remarks on the republican leaning of Salvian, and its connexion in the history of the Church.

afterwards with Julian. The death of Constantine had also been the signal for external disturbances in the rise of the long-protracted Persian War. In the very year when the *prestige* of Constantine's military fame ceased to exist, Sapor began that struggle which terminated twenty-six years later in the death of Julian, and the cession of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. The last two years of the period are marked by the short reign of Julian, with all his military impatience, his strange retrogressive fanaticism, and his intellectual grace; and by the still shorter reign of Jovian, in which, however, he had time to publish the wisest edict on record of Roman toleration.

Second subdivision. 364—395.

The second section starts with the formal division of the Empire, Valens reigning in the East, Valentinian in the West, the Imperial armies being fully occupied, during their sway, in Germany, in Britain, on the Danube, and in Africa. Valentinian observed an universal toleration, alike of heretics and pagans; and the vehement Arianism of Valens has become famous through his celebrated interview with Basil. Theodosius, however, headed vigorously, what Gratian and Valentinian II. had feebly countenanced, a thorough establishment of Catholic orthodoxy. The Edict[1] (380) for the universal acceptance of the Catholic Faith and the expulsion of the Arians from the churches, of which they had gained a very wide-spread possession, was couched in terms which shew that all forms of heterodoxy were to the mind of Theodosius, and would become in the eye of his executive, as far as it lay in his power to make them so, *religiones non licitæ*[2]. Meantime, the noble spectacles of moral dignity presented by Basil and Ambrose in this, and Chrysostom at the beginning of the ensuing section, shewed clearly enough that, if the Church

[1] Published in the joint names of Theodosius, Gratian, and Valentinian.

[2] How eagerly the sects must have longed sometimes, for the power of applying to each other the old Pagan formula, 'non licet *esse* vos.'

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was to be governed exclusively by orthodox Catholics, it would have no lack of commanding genius and a sublime courage among its governors. The solemn words, 'Thou hast imitated David in his sin, imitate him therefore in his repentance,' fearlessly addressed to one of the very greatest statesmen and most successful soldiers that had ever adorned the imperial purple, proclaim in no dubious tones the real majesty of the Bishop and of his religion. The second embassy of Ambrose to the usurper Maximus, undertaken in the very heat of the feud with Justina, and solely for the benefit of her son, furnishes a less striking but not less convincing test of his spiritual greatness.

Vindication of Episcopal dignity during these two subdivisions.

Nor must it be forgotten that, during the nearly sixty years occupied by these two sections, the zealous vindication of episcopal dignity on the parts of its representatives, had been of the very greatest benefit, not to Christianity only, but to the world[1]. The influence of the religion for good as an intermediate power, a harmonizing principle, between the Roman civilization and the invading barbarism, was beyond all calculation: and was, no doubt, present to many a reflecting and forecasting mind, as a suggestive and consoling phenomenon in the midst of terror and bewilderment, such as that which attended the crisis of Hadrianople[2]. And this positive assumption of dignity by its leading ministers, this unhesitating, though as far as physical force was concerned, this unsupported challenge made by the Christian Bishop to an equal footing with the barbarian chief or conquering noble, was an indispensable element in the obtaining or substantiating influence of such a kind.

Third and Fourth Subdivisions. 395—429, and 429—476.

Our two concluding sections may be easily disposed of. Scarcely more than three years had elapsed from the death of Theodosius[3], when St John Chrysostom was raised, by

[1] Milman, *History of Christianity*, III. 127.

[2] A.D. 378.

[3] From Jan. 395 to Feb. 398.

the common consent of court, clergy, and people, to the archiepiscopal chair of Constantinople. The Empire was shared nominally between Arcadius in the East and Honorius in the West, really between Rufinus (soon afterwards Eutropius) and the strongminded and formidable Stilicho. No sooner had Stilicho submitted his neck to the sword of the Count Heraclian[1], than the Goths began the first siege of Rome. The second siege took place in the following year; and August of 410 witnessed the third siege and terrible sack of the devoted and venerable city, which was destined to two more[2] similar visitations before the final humiliation. Thirteen years afterwards Honorius died: and Valentinian III. has still many years of his reign to run out, when the landing of Genseric in Africa (429) brings this section to a close.

In the East, the death of Chrysostom had preceded by one year that of the feeble Arcadius. Theodosius II., who succeeded, was never more than a cipher in the government, which was for sometime conducted by Eudocia, his wife, Pulcheria, his sister, and Placidia, mother of Valentinian III., who married the daughter of Theodosius in 437. It was the designing perfidy of Aëtius, one of the two generals of the West under Placidia, that drove the unsuspecting Boniface to treat with the Vandals, and that brought on the invasion of Africa by Genseric, the third with Alaric and with Attila. Ten years later the conquest and separation of Africa were completed; and by this act of dismemberment the internal prosperity of the Empire was irretrievably destroyed.

Deaths of eminent Church Fathers.

The great Fathers of the Church were now fast dying out. Augustine expired[3] at his post, only a year after the landing of the Vandals, and when the siege of Hippo had lasted but three out of its fourteen months. Cyril followed in 444; Leo the Great in 467. He died during the progress

[1] A.D. 408. [2] A.D. 455 and 472. [3] A.D. 430.

CHAP. II. of those memorable twenty years, when nine emperors successively disappeared between Valentinian and Augustulus; and Hilary sat in the chair of St Peter when the first barbarian monarch, Odoacer, supplanted the last miserable Cæsar.

For twelve years in this concluding section the whole of the civilized world was smarting under the 'Scourge of God;' the Eastern Empire from the Euxine to the Adriatic between 441 and 450, and the Western Empire from 450 to 453. The sudden death of Attila in this latter year, was soon followed by the murder of the worthless Valentinian, a catastrophe which he had brought upon himself by his own murder of Aëtius; and the reigns of Marcian, the two Leos, and Zeno, bring the century to a close.

II. (THE PERSECUTIONS.) If there were no other reason for adjusting our notions respecting the Persecutions in a treatise on Christian Oratory, there is this; that the sufferings of the ante-Nicene Christians furnished the most ample material for sermons, panegyric and hortatory, during the latter part of their own, and during many succeeding, ages. An estimate of heathen opposition, somewhat more evenly balanced than what we might gather from the Church Fathers themselves, is a most desirable acquisition before approaching the writings of Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Jerome, Chrysostom, and Augustine. Already with them the conception of martyrdom has become greatly complicated. The martyr's death is now not merely an euthanasia, dutiful and happy, honourable in itself and likely to bring forth good fruit for those that come after: it is rather a claim to instantaneous sanctification of a very peculiar degree, and to a species of veneration differing from worship only in name; a manifestation of sentiment, the enthusiasm of which is easily pardonable, but which is based on wholly supposititious ideas of human constancy, and of its value in the sight of God.

The Persecutions. Why the subject is introduced.

Complication in the notions about martyrdom.

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But, besides this, the persecutions may be looked upon as the inspiration in some sort of the first attempt at a Christian literature. It was one of the numerous outbreaks of unauthorized or half-authorized popular fury, that induced Quadratus and Aristides to present the Emperor Hadrian with their apologetic addresses; and Justin Martyr under Antoninus Pius, Athenagoras and Melito under his successor[1], were moved by similar circumstances. Later still Tertullian was impelled, by the persecutions which befell the Christians in North Africa, to compose his *Apology for Christianity and Christians*, in which he himself names Septimius Severus as the reigning emperor[2]. It would be hardly possible entirely to separate the more official character of these apologies, written as they were in the fulness of conviction, from the didactic and expository tone which is often assumed: and hence the persecutions may be regarded as their originating cause, even more than the contemporary existence of men like Lucian, Celsus, Porphyry, and Hierocles.

Persecutions were the first inspiration of a distinct Christian literature.

And now, with regard to the number and chronological distribution of the persecutions. Nothing can be more unphilosophical than the common proceeding of setting down *ten* persecutions in a row, apparently for the sole reason of getting a round number, and thus classing indiscriminately in one uncritical category the names of Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Severus, Maximin, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, and Diocletian. A useful summary of facts on the question of number is to be found in the history of Waddington[3]; from which it appears that the enumeration of ten persecutions was an invention of the fifth century, and arose from an arbitrary interpretation of obscure prophecy, rather than from anything deserving the name of historical

Want of accuracy in the common way of reckoning the persecutions.

[1] Athenagoras wrote at a specially unpropitious time, A.D. 166, the *annus calamitosus*.

[2] Neander, *Antignostikus*, I. § 1.

[3] *History of the Church*, chap. iv. p. 42 (note).

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evidence. Lactantius[1], in the fourth century, enumerates only six; while Eusebius, who specifies no number, appears to mention nine. Sulpicius Severus, writing about 417, believed that it was reserved for Antichrist to add a tenth and crowning persecution at the end of the world: the utterly arbitrary character of which announcement may shew us what was the common temper of criticism in that age when ten came to be the popular computation.

General remarks on the persecutions.

The following remarks may tend more fully to substantiate a condemnation of the list mentioned above. The

Nero.

persecution under Nero, although one of the most horrible visitations that ever fell upon the Church, originated not in the deliberate will of the tyrant, but in a pure accident,

Domitian.

namely, the fire of Rome. The hostility of Domitian, moreover, was entirely different from that of Aurelius or of Decius. A mystery seems to envelope the precise nature of his feelings; but we can hardly doubt that the bosom of his own family contained a *something* which powerfully stimulated his suspicions against the Christians. The passage of Suetonius[2] relating to the tragic end of Flavius Clemens has an oppressive and ominous obscurity about it. It runs as follows: '*Denique Flavium Clementem patruelem suum contemptissimæ inertiæ, cujus filios etiam parvulos successores palam destinaverat;...repente ex tenuissimâ suspicione tantum non ipso ejus consulatu interemit.*' United with this hateful suspiciousness was cupidity; which, if not the origin of his fatal delative system, no doubt came to be a prime cause of its duration and efficiency.

Trajan.

So far from Trajan deserving to be classed among systematic persecutors, it is more than probable that, notwithstanding the acute sufferings of the Christians during his reign, he unintentionally shielded them from worse inflictions. The safe obscurity in which the religion had con-

[1] This is stated on Dean Waddington's authority.

[2] Suetonius, *Domitian*, c. 15.

tinued for some time after its foundation, was fast giving way to an obnoxious and dangerous notoriety. An Emperor less humane, less devotedly military, and more inclined to investigate the hidden workings of human thought, might have headed at this era an onslaught of almost complete extermination: whereas the utmost limit of Trajan's positive hostility reached only so far as this, that in his famous Rescript he gave expression to the 'illicitness' of Christianity, which had before been but tacitly assumed. The effects of this rescript, however, were calamitous enough to the faithful in more than one subsequent reign, as they gave a constant handle to the fanatical rage of chance mobs, which could now plead the letter of the law as a justification of their excesses. On the other hand, when the step, which had been so often declined by emperors apparently more strongly attached to Christianity, had at length been taken by Gallienus[1], and the new religion was now raised to the rank of a *religio licita*, many a prince[2] who would not have hesitated before in adopting measures of persecution, began to have scruples about attacking a corporation established by law.

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Gallienus.

Hadrian's rescript[3] to Minucius Fundanus is evidence enough of the wide difference between his view of Christianity, and that held by his companions in this list, by Decius or Diocletian. And, in fact, by far the worst passages of persecution during his reign were attributable, the first to the admirable opportunity given to popular fury by the Emperor's progress through Greece and initiation into the Hellenic rites, (124); the second, to the adventurer Barcochba, who, claiming to be the Messiah, headed the Jews

Hadrian.

[1] His famous edict was first issued on his accession in 259, but did not come into operation in Egypt and the East until the overthrow of Macrianus, in 261.

[2] As, for instance, Aurelian, A.D. 270.—(Neander, *Church History*, I. 195.)

[3] Neander, *Church History*, I. 140.

CHAP. II. in an insane insurrection, and maltreated the Christians for not joining them.

Commodus. The name of Martia and her reported connexion with the Christians were perhaps reason sufficient for the exclusion of Commodus from superficial catalogues like that to which we are now alluding. Yet he made no change by any express edict in favour of the persecuted religion: whose followers remained, therefore, at the mercy of individual governors, such as was Arrius Montanus, in Asia Minor. There is an expression of Clement of Alexandria[1], who wrote shortly after the death of Commodus, to the following effect: 'Many martyrs are daily burned, crucified, or beheaded before our eyes.' This, however, refers only to the time of the civil war between Niger from the East, Claudius Albinus from Gaul, and Septimius Severus in

Severus. Rome. The first nine years of Severus's reign[2], as is well known, afforded the Christians a welcome respite from suffering, and were particularly remarkable for the respect shewn at that time by the Emperor to many distinguished believers[3]. And the barbarous inflictions, especially in Egypt, which disgraced his later years, were, as far as we can now understand the merits of the question, only *indirectly* chargeable upon his edict, the letter of which appears to have been confined to the prohibition of further conversion, whether to Judaism or to Christianity.

Unless, indeed, we are to pass him over altogether as a madman, a catalogue in which Severus is enrolled as a

Caracalla. persecutor should contain the name of Caracalla also. It goes a very little way to say that this cruel Emperor did not himself set on foot any new persecution. There had been time enough between the edict of Severus and Cara-

[1] Clem. Alex. II. 414, *Stromat.* (quoted by Neander, *Ch. Hist.* I. 165).

[2] A.D. 193—201 inclusive.

[3] 'Non modo non læsit verum et testimonio ornavit.'—Tertull. *ad Scap.* IV.

calla's accession, to shew that the real working of that law was most iniquitous and oppressive. And a sovereign who did nothing to curb the consequent popular outrages, and to allay the fury of inflamed prejudices which his predecessor had kindled, can hardly decline the responsibility which attaches to a more positive and outspoken agent. CHAP. II.

The malice which was entertained by the savage Maximin against the bishops of the Church, a sentiment which was shared by Decius after him, was rendered still more deadly in its general effects, by the concurrence of two adverse circumstances in this reign. On one hand there was the eruption of earthquakes[1], especially in Cappadocia and Pontus, the terror and agitation consequent upon which would be sure to drive a large number of Christians before the governors, a heavy percentage having first been claimed by unlicensed outrage; and, on the other, it so happened that there was a particularly hostile staff of governors to receive them. So that of the sharp and cruel inflictions which were endured under him, perhaps not more than a third part are directly attributable to the personal influence of the imperial Thracian. *Maximin.*

And, with regard to the insertion into the list of Aurelian's name, we must remember that his five years of sovereignty[2] were on the wane before he began to think of persecution at all. He seems then to have bethought himself of the gods, and to have been willing to conciliate their goodwill towards his Thracian enterprises, by proceeding to extremities against the Christians. But whatever intentions he may have had, they were wholly frustrated by his murder: the divine vengeance overtaking him, to use the language of Eusebius[3], and restraining him from his design at the very elbow. *Aurelian.*

It will have been, perhaps, sufficiently clear that the

[1] Cf. Neander, *Church History*, I. 174.

[2] A.D. 270—275.

[3] Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 30.

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object of these remarks on certain persecuting Emperors has been anything rather than to exonerate their memory from the burden of reprobation which rests upon them. The intention has been rather this: to eliminate, as it were, from the field of our observation, the accidental brutality of Nero, the mysterious suspiciousness of Domitian, the military or statesmanlike aspect in the conduct of Trajan and Hadrian, the indirect hostility of Severus, the mixed character of the inflictions under Maximin, and the abortive severity of Aurelian,—toning down at the same time any excess of odium which may attach to certain individuals in the popular list referred to, by reminding ourselves of the less apparent, but not the less real guilt of sovereigns like Commodus and Caracalla;—in order that the *ex animo* and successful persecutors may stand out in the more prominent relief before our eyes, M. Aurelius, Decius, Valerian, and (uniting with this last the name of the Cæsar Galerius as well) the cautiously prudent, but afterwards the implacable, Diocletian.

M. Aurelius Decius, Valerian, Diocletian.

Decius.

The design of Decius was worthy of a man, who, in spite of his obscure Pannonian birth, bore the name of those illustrious plebeians that fell self-devoted under Mount Vesuvius and at Sentinum[1]. The principle on which it was based was nothing less than the constraining all subjects of the empire to return to the religion of their forefathers, and, as a consequence, the *entire* suppression of Christianity. The Emperor himself was remarkable for a violent hatred of the higher Church-officers: and is said to have been better able to endure a competition for the purple, than the presence of a Bishop in the capital. This special antipathy, however, did not prevent a strict universality in the persecution. The lowest confessors, as well as the highest authorities, of the Church were consigned to exile

[1] In the first and second Samnite wars.

or death: and the rack and collar were shared with Origen[1], by a crowd of less illustrious victims.

Valerian.

The policy of Decius became narrowed and specialized in the hands of Valerian. Of his seven years of power, the last three only were devoted to the more vigorous and severe measures; the prime object of which was, to deprive the Christians of their spiritual heads, and to check the progress of Christianity in the higher classes[2]. Under Valerian's persecution fell Thascius Cyprian, who had wisely stood aloof during the Decian troubles, but who now met his death at Sexti, in a manner worthy of the author of the eighty-third epistle[3]. The Acts of Cyprian are so simple and unvarnished, but at the same time so circumstantial, that almost every history of the Church contains a translation from them: and no passage in the annals of ancient martyrdom has become more familiar than the last scene of this Bishop's life.

Diocletian.

A similar consideration of necessary notoriety renders it impertinent to so limited a work as this that any account should be introduced of the great and crowning persecution under Diocletian. The fire in the palace of Nicomedia served to rouse the darkest suspicions in that (at first) prudent and temperate ruler, and the individual acts of Diocletian cannot be distinguished in severity from those which were prompted by Galerius.

M. Aurelius, why he is retained for the last place.

Marcus Aurelius, however, demands a more particular mention; and we have reserved him for the last place, that his image might the more readily remain upon the mind as the *ideal* of an enlightened and determined persecutor. It is hard to explain how so many writers should have thought it strange for an advanced philosopher to adopt persecution: as though any ethical system of that

[1] Cf. Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* VI. 39. Fabienus, Bishop of Rome, Alexander of Jerusalem, and Babylas of Antioch, were also among the more celebrated Confessors of this reign.

[2] Neander, *Church History*, I. 193.

[3] *Cypriani Opera* (Caillau), p. 332.

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day had come to recognise the universal rights of man, religious freedom and liberty of conscience, or had (at least among Roman thinkers) any higher ultimate object than the State. The *differentia* of this great Emperor as connected with the Christians may be thus stated; namely, that he presents, in his own proper person, an epitomized form of the two influences which so often originated or fostered the spirit of persecution. He was devoted to the State, and ultimately became panic-stricken with reference to its prospects; and, he was a Stoic philosopher.

His double motive in persecuting the Christians.

His alarm.

Alarmed beyond measure at the pestilence brought by the soldiers of Verus from the shores of the Euphrates, he was so intent upon restoring the Pagan worship in its minutest particulars, as actually to put off a military expedition[1] for the sake of carrying out his religious restoration. This panic, which was in no way relieved by the news of grave calamities on many parts of the frontier-line[2], brought him into contact with the Christians, the public and avowed enemies of the gods, the apostates on whom the neglected altars might most readily be visited, and whose religion had actually brought about that neglect, at least in an equal proportion with the Epicurean indifferentism, which overlay in those times the Pagan world of thought.

His Stoicism.

And, no sooner had Aurelius been brought to turn his attention towards the Christians, than the Stoic influence came into play. There is, perhaps, no more pungent cause of envy and jealousy, than the discovery on the part of an impostor that another is in the actual possession of what he is only pretending to: pretending, it may be, with a temporary success in the appearance, but with a corroding consciousness of the unreality. And a sense of hollowness no doubt stimulated the animosity of many a Stoic and

[1] Against the Marcomannians. — (Neander, *Church History*, I. 147.)

[2] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, II. 181.

Cynic in that restless and degenerate age, who imposed upon themselves to a certain extent, but felt at every time of pressure how far they were from possessing the stamina of a dying Socrates, or — and here lay the sting — the stamina of a dying Christian. It is an ungracious supposition in one aspect, but a deeply tragic one in another, that the celebrated critique of Aurelius upon Christian martyrdom[1], the imputation of *ψιλὴν παράταξιν* as opposed to the calm results of a dignified reflection, was dictated by a jealousy, whether conscious or not, of the warm vitality in the resignation of the Faithful, which he must have respected and perhaps coveted, while he affected to contemn. CHAP. II.

Concluding Remarks on the Persecutions.

One word, before we pass to the Heresies, on Ante-Nicene persecution generally. Except in a very few instances, all that was said about *religiones licitæ*[2] and *non licitæ*, though weighty results sometimes hung upon the distinction, was mere surface-talk. It was like the hinging of a whole national discontent and abhorrence upon the running counter to some ancestral act of *præmunire*. Popular feeling, as we have seen, anticipated some of the sanguinary edicts, and lent an awful intensity to the operation of all. There was a vague, but almost universal, apprehension among all classes with regard to the new faith; an instinctive persuasion that if the old weapons and the old maxims were used, 'the scythe of Saturn' might be defied; but that a set of men were abroad, trifling with all that was prescript and venerable, making light of Jupiter, Mars, Romulus, the augurs and the ancilia, not worshipping the old Powers, not swearing by the Fortune of Rome.

Over and above the actual refusal, there was the *manner* of it. It was not as if the Christians were invited or

[1] *Meditations*, XI. 3: (quoted by Neander, *Church History*, I. 146.)

[2] Cic. *Legg.* II. 8, and Liv. IV. 30, are the much-quoted passages on this subject.

CHAP. II. compelled by the proconsuls to the expression of any earnest belief. On the contrary, the meaning of the sacrificial act was distinctly given: it was a mere token of loyalty to the Empire. Could a man decline the scanty handful of incense, the lightest and most elastic form of religious test ever proposed,—could he thus go out of his way to insult the State, and then come with a grave face, and profess a heartfelt loyalty? Yet this was what the Christians did, neglecting or doing violence to the (so-called) time-honoured and humanizing usages of society, and throwing down a challenge to the sovereign of the world. The obstinacy or singularity of the thing was, at the best of times, vexatious; but when fire, and plague, and famine were abroad, when Goths were forgetting what was due to the Roman frontier, and the public were proportionately unwilling that a single altar should go unhonoured, it then became by rapid degrees, detested, intolerable, doomed. With statesmen, philosophers, and the general public alike, it was always a nuisance, except when it occasionally rose to be a hideous doubt, a half-perceived and entirely dreaded reality. There must have been an especial terror to thinking minds, in the *failure* of a well-organized persecution, such, for instance, as was that of Decius; just as though a man should strike hard at a spectre, and see the naked sword pass harmless through the unmoved figure.

The Heresies and Schisms.

III. (THE HERESIES AND SCHISMS). Some disposition of the peculiar mental tendencies in the Church during these early ages, is imperatively necessary in a review of any department whatever in the early Christian Literature. The briefest possible space is all that can be here allotted to the subject.

The Ante-Nicene phases of thought

And, first, of the phases of thought in the Ante-Nicene age. In the most general conception that can be taken of this vast and deeply-interesting subject, it will not be easy

to find a clearer fundamental division than the twofold one of *Idealism* and *Realism*[1]. The first term we may accept as the symbol of the γνῶσις in all its forms, whether ἀληθιναί or ψευδώνυμοι, a generalization which will recal to the mind the names of Basilides and Valentinus as well as those of Clement and Origen. The second embraces Ebionism[2] on the one hand and Montanism on the other, with all their ramifications and varieties. CHAP. II. *divided into the Idealistic and Realistic.*

The very lowest of the former class of tendencies admitted, if it did not actually presuppose, the notion of a progressive development; the latter class was eventually conservative, if not retrogressive. Montanism in particular[3] yearned towards the rejection and condemnation of existing elements of culture; while an endeavour to reconcile with Christianity the contemporary results of human enlightenment was the characteristic of the Alexandrian School. At the same time we must modify a too rigid application of this antithetical mode of conception, by remembering another principle common to all the Gnostic schools, and closely connected with the Alexandrian eclecticism[4], although not actually arising from it. This was the endeavour to remove as far as possible from the supreme and invisible God every participation in the production of a world so thoroughly impregnated with evil as our own system[5]. The Creator of this world came, as a natural consequence, to be regarded sometimes as merely distinct from, sometimes as directly antagonistic to, the high God. From the *The former class of tendencies was progressive; the latter, conservative.*

[1] See Neander, *Introduction to the Antignostikus*. We shall have to return to the subject below, Chap. VI. in the notice of Tertullian.

[2] Orig. *in Matth.* xvi. 12: τῷ ἐβιωνείῳ καὶ πτωχεύοντι περὶ τὴν εἰς Ἰησοῦν πίστιν—and the same Father (*c. Cels.* II. 1): ἐπώνυμοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν πτωχείας τοῦ νόμου—are interesting passages on the etymology of the name, quoted by Neander, *Ch. Hist.* I. 477.

[3] Neander, *Church Hist.* II. 224.

[4] Compare on the eclectic spirit the very words of Clemens: φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν οὐδὲ τὴν Ἀριστοτελικήν, ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρέσεων τούτων καλῶς.—*Stromata*, I. 7.

[5] Conybeare's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 268.—(Lect. V.)

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evil source of matter was derived the sensitive and merely animal vitality of our nature; while the heavenly spark of the rational soul proceeded from the inaccessible denizen of the Pleroma.

Bunsen's seven sections from 33 to 254.

Descending, now, somewhat more into detail, we shall find the Chevalier Bunsen's[1] arrangement and classification full of suggestive analysis. His landmarks bring us down to the death of Origen, just beyond the middle point of the third century. Seven sections of time are recognised as occupying the interval between our Lord's death and the year **254**. There is first the *age of St Peter and St Paul*, embracing the history of the rising Church from the Pentecostal starting-point to the death of the two leading Apostles, about the year **65**, and the destruction of Jerusalem (**70**). This is followed by the *age of St John and Clemens Romanus*, the last Apostle, and the first historical Bishop: and the third section is called the *age of Ignatius and Basilides*. The great imperial soldier and the profound imperial statesman fall within this third division; Ignatius suffered martyrdom under the former, and the earliest Apologists, with the elder apostles of the γνῶσις, Cerinthus and Basilides, made their appearance under the sway of the latter. The fourth age is *that of Polycarp and Valentinus*, during which the Gnostic Philosophies and the Christian Literature continue to progress side by side; and the fifth, *that of Irenæus;* a period in which the dualistic systems are regarded as having begun to yield to Catholic science, under the influence of Theodotus and Pantænus in the East, and of Irenæus himself in the West. To this succeeds *the age of Clemens at Alexandria, and Victor at Rome*, which reaches down to the death of Caracalla (**217**), and witnesses the consolidation of Catholic science, as well as a very decided advance in hierarchical assumption. The last age is *that*

The age of St Peter and St Paul.

Of St John and Clemens Romanus.

Of Ignatius and Basilides.

Of Polycarp and Valentinus.

Of Irenæus.

Of Clemens Alex. and Victor.

[1] The reference is to the Chronological Tables in *Hippolytus and His Age*, Vol. I. pp. 235—237.

Of Origen.

of Origen, with Alexander Severus the syncretist, and Maximin and Decius the ruder and the more systematic persecutors, as the prominent names among the Emperors; and Hippolytus (his later writings only belong to this period), Callistus, Urbanus, Pontianus and Cornelius, as the principal working Churchmen.

Threefold classification of contemporary Heresies.

Upon this arrangement of periods is superinduced a threefold classification of the contemporary Heresies. The three classes are the Gnostic, the Ebionite and Mixed[1], and the Ecclesiastical, the members of the last class being orthodox in their opinions concerning God and Christ, but having some more or less erroneous belief on other points. The historical origin of the Gnostic systems is placed in the Johannean age, before the writing of St John's Gospel, and somewhere between the years 70 and 99. The chief Gnostic leaders are thickly scattered over the first five sections of time, the more eminent names being those of Simon, Menander (at Antioch), Basilides, Valentinus[2], Saturninus, and Marcion. Basilides and Valentinus agreed on almost all their fundamental doctrines; their differences consisting, in fact, almost entirely in a variously elaborated expansion of primary conceptions which were present to the minds of both[3].

Gnostic class.

Ebionite and Mixed.

The Ebionite and Mixed class also ranges over the first five sections. The names of Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Theodotus of Byzantium, Cerdon, Apelles, the Docetæ, Tatian, and Hermogenes, stand out in the greatest prominence. Apelles had been a disciple of Marcion, but indulged in various speculations foreign to the primitive

[1] Containing, that is, a mixture of Gnosticism and Ebionism. Vid. *Hippolytus and His Age*, in loc. It was obviously possible for these sects to exchange certain false positions, without surrendering their fundamentally different principles of thought.

[2] Who, according to Irenæus (*Euseb.* IV. 11), 'came to Rome under Hyginus, was in his prime under Pius, and lived till the time of Anicetus.'

[3] Cf. Neander, *Church History*, II. 71, and Bishop Kaye's *Account of Clement*, p. 276, ff.

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Marcionite system. Carpocrates belongs more strictly, as also do the licentious Nicolaites, to the sects who inclined towards various forms of Paganism, such as were the pantheistic Ophites, the Cainites, and the pseudo-Basilideans.

Ecclesiastical.

Finally, the Ecclesiastical Class makes itself felt during the fifth, sixth, and seventh sections, comprising the Quartodecimans, the Encratites, the Callistians, the Elchasaites, the Montanists, and the Noëtians. The Patripassian Noëtus was imitated subsequently by Beryllus; by Sabellius, condemned in a Synod held at Rome (263); and by Paul of Samosata, who was the *protégé* of Zenobia[1], and was condemned by the Synod of Antioch in 269.

The Schisms.

Of Schisms, the Novatian properly finds a place within the chronological limits of Bunsen's arrangement, 250 being the date of the election of Cornelius. The Meletian Schism was settled at Nice; the Donatist struggle, that most unchristian contest for the primacy of the African Church, was not finally quelled until the seventh century. The exceeding bitterness which characterised this last-named movement may be judged of by the way in which the Donatists indiscriminately applied to the Catholics the invidious title of *Traditors*[2].

Mani.

The great heretical feature of the latter half of the third century is obviously the appearance of Mani, a noble Persian of the sacred Magian order, who atoned for the offence which his system caused the hierarchy, by being flayed alive under the orders of the king Baharam, about the year 276. Whatever may have been the cause, it is certain that the wild doctrines of Mani made a deep and lasting impression upon both oriental and occidental nations. The implacable hostility of all other religions to

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, II. 457.

[2] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, II. 367.

Manicheeism[1], and the manner in which it has become a by-word of religious animosity in Europe and Asia alike, put the question of its success beyond the possibility of doubt. To us the chief point of interest lies in the fact of St Augustine having been for a time held captive in the trammels of this system. To a man of acute sensibility and commanding intellect, lately awakened from the dreams of sensuality, the rigorous dualism of Mani must have had a great power of attraction. But most of all must Augustine's attention have been arrested by the wildly poetical conflict of the 'Primal Man,' defending the borders of the beautiful and peaceful regions of light against the pestiferous visitants from the realm of darkness. There is a certain sublimity, moreover, in the idea that the celestial bodies, which had been formed out of the living spirit of the purer element, were the witnesses of the great strife, and co-operators in it[2].

Augustine a follower of Mani.

For the remaining two centuries of the period prescribed in the title of this Essay, it must suffice, and it will be enough, to mention the mere names of the great Trinitarian Controversy, with all the subordinate divisions of Semi-Arians, Homoousians, Anomoians, or Eunomians; the Paschal Controversy; the contest of Catholic doctrine with Pelagianism, its off-shoots and its compounds; and, lastly, the Nestorian and Monophysite controversies, so calamitous to the Oriental Church, so disastrous in their effects upon practical Christianity.

The Trinitarian struggles.

The Paschal, Nestorian, and Monophysite controversies.

IV. (The Pagan Schools of Thought). It is plain, upon the bare presumption of heretical systems, that existing modes of philosophy retained a hold upon the Christian, at the same time that Christianity in a widely different sense was acquiring a hold upon the Pagan. It is also plain, that, even where a man was by nature free from any

The Pagan Schools of Thought.

[1] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, II. 338.

[2] *Ibid.* II. 333.

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strong inclination towards moral and mental science, he might be, and often was, forced upon the subject by the imperative exigences of controversy. The necessity of replying to the attacks of Heathen adversaries, and of forming into a whole the solutions which were offered from time to time of the questions and cavils of their opponents, —these, and similar causes brought the Christians into close and continual contact with the contemporary Schools of Thought. And what were these Schools of Thought?

They were, principally, the Stoic and Cynic; the Peripatetic; the New-Pythagorean; the New-Sceptic of the Empiric School; and—by far the most important of all—the Neo-Platonist.

The Stoics.

The Stoic School[1] had naturally a great advantage under the Roman Empire, particularly among a class of men which the nature of the executive rendered a very numerous one; namely, the class which comprised men of severe moral character and strong natural power of intellect, but devoted by the force of circumstances to public affairs. It is true that with such men the doctrines of the Porch disengaged themselves in a very decided degree from speculative subtilties, and acquired a more practical spirit; but the unbiassed judge will hardly set this down as a disadvantage to the system. The most prominent names which fall within our period are those of Rufus, Cornutus, Chæremon, Dio Chrysostom, Epictetus (born at Hierapolis in Phrygia, and a teacher after his banishment from Rome, at Nicopolis in Epirus), Arrian, Seneca, and

The Cynics.

the Emperor M. Aurelius[2] himself. The principal Cynic teachers were Demonax[3], a man of a sober practical bent of mind, with almost the Socratic view of super-terres-

[1] Tennemann, *Hist. of Philosophy*, § 182.

[2] He was the disciple of Q. Sextus, a grandson of Plutarch.—(Tennemann, § 182.)

[3] See the account given of him by Neander, *Church History*, I. 13.

trial inquiry; Peregrinus (or Proteus) of Parium in Mysia, who is said to have ended by burning himself at some time in the reign of M. Aurelius; and, finally, Crescens of Megalopolis, the malicious and successful opponent of Justin Martyr.

The Peripatetics and New Pythagoreans.

Of the Peripatetics and New-Pythagoreans very little need be said, especially with regard to the former. The practical character of the Roman mind was so manifestly unsuited to the study of much that had been the very food of the Stagyrite speculations, that Alexander of Ægæ, one of the preceptors of Nero, and Adrastus and Alexander of Aphrodisias[1], who flourished in the second century after Christ, can claim only a subordinate rank in our enumeration. Yet there is a depth of meaning, and a wealth of suggestive matter that it is hard to pass over, in the distinction drawn by the later Alexander with reference to the nature of the soul, separating the notion of simple *οὐσία*, from that of *εἶδός τι τοῦ σώματος ὀργανικοῦ*. The mysterious element in the doctrines of Pythagoras was more than likely to have its due effect in an age when Religion had given way, and Superstition was busy at work. Nearly one hundred and twenty years before Tiberius, a Roman conqueror, seven times Consul, had carried about with him a Syrian astrologer. And the tampering with Babylonian numbers was not unfamiliar to the coterie of Horace. Secundus of Athens and Nicomachus of Gerasa[2] endeavoured, in different ways, to follow in the steps of the great Samian leader; the former by a naturalist application of some of the first principles of the Pythagorean philosophy, the latter by a supposed discovery, in the doctrine of numbers, of a profound and occult science. Throughout the whole of the workings of both these schools, the influence of Plato and Orientalism must be borne carefully in mind, and is easily to be traced.

[1] Tennemann, § 183.

[2] *Ibid.* § 184.

CHAP. II.

The New Sceptics.

Sextus Empiricus, the leading name of the New Sceptic school, followed (about A.D. 190[1]) almost immediately after the galaxy of Antonine authors—Lucian, Pausanias, Pollux, Aulus Gellius, Galen, Apuleius, Maximus the Tyrian, and last, though by no means latest, Quinctilian, had supported the literary claims of the century that preceded him. They were strange laurels that Sextus essayed to bind around his brow. Long before him Pyrrho and Democritus had been exploded by the Academy; and what sort of intellectual system was patronised by Democritus we have an opportunity of knowing from Metrodorus the Chian, who is quoted by Cicero to the following effect[2]: 'I say that we are entirely ignorant whether what we know is something or nothing; whether there is such a thing as knowing or not knowing; or indeed, to come to the root of the matter, as being or not being.' Sextus himself wished to institute such a normal comparison of Phænomena and Nooumena as to arrive ultimately at a suspension of all judgment on objects the nature of which is obscure to us; and from this process he hoped to attain a complete repose and equanimity (*ἀταραξία καὶ μετριοπαθεία*[3]). The very mention of Christianity, as a parallel and contemporary agency, is sufficient to indicate how entirely a system like this would clash with the existing tendencies of the human reason. It was too weak to secure the much desiderated object of mental repose in an age like that of the second and third Christian centuries; and, apart from this ultimate object, it seemed to want sympathy with almost every other development of contemporary thought.

The Neo-Platonists.

Far more attractive to the thinking minds of this period, and none the less so that it admitted so freely of adaptations from the Christian doctrines, was the system of

[1] See Prof. Jeremie's article in the *Encycl. Metropol.* on *Sextus Empiricus, and the Pyrrhonists.*

[2] Cic. *Acad. Prior.* II. 23. The quotation is from Metrodorus's book *περὶ φύσεως.*

[3] Tennemann, § 190.

Neo-Platonism; which may be loosely characterised as a *mélange* of sundry remains from the ancient Hellenic systems, and liberal supplies of fresh matter from the theories of the East. Philo, Numenius, and Atticus[1] were early exponents of this mystical speculation; Ammonius Saccas and the memorable Longinus were also distinguished members of the school; but the great Neo-Platonist teachers were Plotinus and Porphyry, in the earlier and later half of the third century; Iamblichus in the beginning of the fourth; and Proclus in the fifth. Plotinus died in the year 270, at Rome: Porphyry in 304; Iamblichus in 333; and Proclus, probably, in 465[2].

Neander has given a most instructive estimate of the degrees in which the Platonic tendencies were likely to act, on the one side as a preparatory agency to Christianity, on the other as a hostile power[3]. The aristocratic exclusiveness was a clear loss; but the philosophy of religion let in a tumult of thought and feeling which nothing could effectively influence but 'the peace that passeth all understanding.'

[1] Tennemann, § 197. [2] *Ibid.* §§ 204—220.
[3] Neander, *Church History*, I. 47.

CHAPTER III.

A triple division, for our more immediate purpose, of the first five centuries; and reasons à priori *why Christianity came to be indebted for its extension and influence, during the first two divisions, to other means rather than to Oratory, both within and without its own pale.*

Οὐ γὰρ ἐν λόγῳ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει.
ST PAUL.

CHAP. III.

A final demarcation of the first five centuries.

WE now come to a final demarcation of the prescribed period; a demarcation, which, without some such preliminary review as is contained in the preceding chapter, it would have been impertinent to adopt; but which, it is hoped and believed, will be found thoroughly consistent with the historical facts.

The Apostolic Period.

The first division extends from the foundation of the Church to the accession of M. Aurelius, and it will be distinguished by the general name of the Apostolic Period, although this proceeding will involve an obvious deviatio from the usual acceptation of the term. Still, as that which is Apostolic constitutes the great characteristic of this division, and as the idea was to include within it the latest personal companion of an Apostle, it seemed better to adopt this simpler title, than to fall back upon the elaborately formed 'Apostolico-Patristic,' or some other equally cumbrous appellation.

The Philosophic and Mystic Period.

The second division bears the name of the Philosophic and Mystic Period, a title which will be, perhaps, sufficiently justified by the mention of Sextus Empiricus, Plotinus, and Porphyry among the Pagans, and of Origen and Clemens Alexandrinus among the Church Fathers.

Cyprian, towards the latter half of the third century, gives evidence of the degree to which a mystic spirit had entered into the interpretation of the Scriptures; and the more developed forms of Gnosticism at its commencement[1], with the wild notions of Mani towards its close, impart a tone and colouring to the whole century. This second division extends down to the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire (324). Athanasius was at that time nearly thirty years old, and even at that early age was only two years behind his Archiepiscopal election; while the birth-dates of Gregory, Basil, his brother of Nyssa[2], Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine, were, some of them close at hand, some drawing on apace.

The Oratorical Period.

The third division, therefore, will naturally claim the title of the Oratorical proper, and will occupy the space that intervenes between the establishment of Christianity and the fall of the Western empire.

Causes which kept Oratory in the background during the first two periods,

The present is the proper place very briefly to adduce certain causes, which operated during the first two of the above-mentioned divisions so as to keep Oratory in the background, whether as a means of the further extension, or of the internal edification of the Church. And, first, of the enlargement beyond existing limits.

There were three distinct manifestations of the nature of Christianity, which rendered the power of speech during the first three ages a merely secondary agency to those without[3]. There was, first, the singularity of conduct on the part of believers; next, their blameless and virtuous lives; and, lastly, their heroic constancy and bold confession under the pains of persecution.

(I) *as a means of extending the Church's influence;*

The points of contrast between heathen and Christian

[1] At which period, also, Tertullian lapsed from Catholic doctrine.

[2] Gregory of Nyssa was the younger brother of Basil, born at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, about A.D. 331.

[3] The instructive 5th and 6th chapters in Blunt's *Church in the First Three Centuries*, present these phenomena in a striking manner and within a small compass.

CHAP. III. manners would strike even an obtuse observer at every turn. So early as the days of St Paul there had been the difficulty about resorting to the Pagan tribunals[1]. By a similar scruple transactions in borrowing or lending were very frequently impeded, great embarrassment taking place in the execution of deeds, bonds, and contracts[2]. Then there was the absenting themselves from many of the public festivals, from public executions, and promiscuous baths; besides the yet more constantly recurring singularities at the shambles and statuary-shops, and in the demeanour towards slaves. Even the rings and seals[3] of the Christians contained a moral: a dove, a fish, a ship under sail, a lyre, an anchor.

When the attention had been drawn towards the new religion and its faithful confessors by these most powerful and frequent appeals, it would soon be discovered that a virtuous and blameless life lay at the bottom of all the external signs; and if they were so many voices demanding attention, this was a still more eloquent voice, calling for esteem.

But, more constraining even than this quiet influence of character and example, the most eloquent voice of all was the heroic behaviour of the faithful at the hour of their bitter trials. Nothing can be more striking, nothing more truthful on the very face of the matter, than the words of Tertullian in a very memorable passage[4]:—'All your refinements of cruelty can accomplish nothing: on the contrary, they do but serve to win men over to this sect. Our number increases the more you persecute us. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Christians. Your philosophers, who exhort to the endurance of pain and death, make fewer disciples by their words than the Christians by their

[1] 1 Cor. vi. 1.

[2] Tertullian, *De Idololat.* § 23: quoted by Blunt.

[3] Clemens Alex. *Pædag.* III. 11, 289.

[4] The translation of this passage in the *Apology* is taken from Neander, *Church Hist.* I. 106.

deeds. That obstinacy which you reproach us with is a teacher: for who that beholds it is not urged to inquire into its cause? And who, when he has inquired, does not come over to us; and when he has come over, is not himself willing to suffer for it?' CHAP. III.

(2) *as a means of edification within the Church's own pale.*

Parallel with these, which we may call the external causes of the secondary position held by Oratory during our first two periods, there were others operating within the pale of the Church itself. Foremost among such causes must be mentioned the great danger attending the assemblies of the ante-Nicene Church in the times of persecution, which may be fairly said to have been, in one part or another of the Christian community, an almost constant visitation. The assemblies in the Catacombs at Rome, or in those African caves, which had been employed, first by the aborigines of the country, then by the Phœnician colonists, and lastly for the concealment of Christians, may have been, and undoubtedly were, means for the rousing of irresistible emotions, occasions when the *Sursum corda* burst forth fresh and warm from the very fountains of feeling; but they were not fitting opportunities for the delivery of elaborate sermons.

The reading of the Scriptures and, above all, the administration of the Sacraments occupied a far more important place in the hearts of those earnest worshippers. It was desirable[1] that every Christian should be familiar with the sacred writings; and when manuscripts were costly and the bulk of every congregation consisted of poor persons, hearing the word was a necessary substitute for private reading, and was therefore one of the most important parts of public worship. And, on the other hand, Baptism, the sign of first admission into communion with the Redeemer and His Church[2], and the Lord's Supper, the sign of a con-

[1] See Neander's remarks, *Church History*, I. 419.
[2] Neander, *Id.* I. 421.

CHAP. III.

stant and persevering growth, had a palpable union with the things signified, the inward and divine realities, which it required the lively Christian feelings of those early believers fully to appreciate.

Lastly, in a society which was continually receiving or contemplating accessions to its numbers from those who had arrived at years of discretion, there was sure to be an extraordinary demand for catechetical instruction with a proportionate limitation upon the number of sermons proper. Clemens Alexandrinus magnifies the importance of this method of instruction in a twofold image. On one occasion he says that 'the *meat* mentioned by St Paul (1 Cor. iii. 2) is faith converted into a foundation by catechetical teaching[1]:' on another, 'that *milk* is catechetical teaching, being as it were the first nourishment of the soul: while meat is the full contemplation of the mysteries (ἡ ἐποπτικὴ θεωρία[1]).'

These and similar causes may be fairly regarded as having stood in the way of the development of elaborate preaching during the ante-Nicene period, that is to say, during our first two divisions of time. In the fourth century, however, sermons soon began to occupy a more prominent position in the Christian Worship; and the antiquities of the subject now demand a few remarks.

[1] Quoted by Bishop Kaye (*Account of Clement*, p. 444), from *Pædag.* I. 1, 120, and *Stromata*, V. 685.

CHAPTER IV.

Some Remarks on the Antiquities of early Christian Preaching.

'As to the relation of the Sermon to the whole office of worship, this is a point on which we meet with the most opposite errors of judgment.'

NEANDER, (*Church History*, III. 448,) ed. Bohn.

WHEN the Churches of the early Christians began to assume a form more or less fixed and generally adopted, the arrangement was commonly the following.

The arrangement of ancient churches.

There was, first, the Bema (Lat. *suggestum*), or part allotted to the clergy; then the Naos (Nave), allotted to the faithful communicants, in other words, to the baptized lay portion of the congregation: and, lastly, the Narthex (Ante-temple), of an oblong or dromical shape, resembling in this respect a rod or staff (*ferula*, *νάρθηξ*[1]). Other names for the Bema were *ἅγιον*, *πρεσβυτηρίον*, *θυσιαστηρίον*, and *ἄδυτον* or *ἄβατον*. Theodoret[2] mentions the name *locus intra cancellos*, (*τὰ ἔνδον τῶν κιγκλίδων*, 'the Chancel'), a title taken from the partition of rails which resembled a net-work (*cancelli*). And at a subsequent period, about the time of the two later Councils of Toledo (682—696), the name Chorus (Choir) came into use, taken from the chanting of the clergy, and confined chiefly to the Western Churches. The Nave was variously called *oratorium populi*, *ἐκκλησία*, and *quadratum populi*, where there was an apsidal Bema to contrast with its square or oblong form. The other names of the narthex were chiefly the obvious ones of *πρόναος*, *προπύλεια*, *porticus*, &c.

[1] Riddle, *Christian Antiquities*, 683.
[2] Theod. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 18: quoted by Riddle, p. 684.

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The preacher's position in the church.

Now it was mostly from his seat in the chancel that the preacher addressed the people. But this was not always the case. There was situated in the upper part of the nave a desk, called variously *ambo* (*ἀναβαίνειν*), *suggestum lectoris* (*βῆμα τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν*), and, by Cyprian[1], *pulpitum* and *tribunal ecclesiæ*. The Holy Scriptures, Epistles from foreign Churches, and any other documents of public interest, were read from this place. As the Christian congregations grew larger, and the size of churches increased, it grew more and more difficult for the officiating Bishop or Presbyter to be heard from his place in the chancel. Hence, not only was the *ambo* resorted to by preachers who really wished to be effective, but a moveable pulpit was frequently placed in front of the screen or partition between the chancel and the nave. The practical energy of Chrysostom led him to occupy this position; and the celebrated sermon in reproof of the fallen Prime Minister was delivered from one of these portable *suggesta*. 'While Eutropius lay under the altar, and was terrified with fear, the Bishop sitting[2] in the *pulpit* (out of which it had before been his usage to preach, in order to his being heard more easily), made an Oration in reproof of him[3].' Both Chrysostom and Augustine preached also from the *ambo*[4], willingly leading the way in quitting the accustomed *bema*, that so their words might fall with greater force upon the congregation.

Were Bishops the only Preachers?

It would hardly seem that the Bishops reserved to themselves for any length of time the exclusive office of preaching, though this seems at one period to have been usual[5]. It was impossible to keep an Athanasius or an Augustine long waiting: and no doubt many a bishop was

[1] The passage occurs in Cypr. *Ep.* 34. *De laterino lectore ordinato.*

[2] See below on the posture, p. 56.

[3] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* VI. 5.

[4] Riddle, *Christian Antiqq.* p. 686.

[5] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, III. 482.

ready to imitate Flavian of Antioch, who raised Chrysostom, immediately upon his ordination, to the post of principal teacher in that city. The iron energy of Chrysostom in the rebuking of vice and the upholding a firm and lofty moral standard, an energy which accompanied him through prosperous and adverse fortune alike up to the very last scenes of his life, must have rendered him a far more efficient minister in that luxurious and effeminate city, than the aged Bishop, who was liberal-minded enough to promote him in consequence.

The preaching of laymen.

With reference to the sermons of Laymen, Bingham[1] (quoted by Riddle) believes that they never officiated in the church itself, but only in the baptisteries, or decanica. 'Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria,' he says, 'is said by Ruffin to have authorized Origen to teach as catechist in the church, which cannot be understood of teaching publicly in the church; for Origen was then but eighteen years old, and not in orders, when he first entered upon the catechetical school; but it must mean his private teaching in the school of the church. Which, whether it was in the *catechumenia* within the church, or in the *baptisteria* or *pastophoria* without the church, is not very easy, nor very material, to be determined.' We have, however, ample reason to infer that the laity were for a long time allowed to address the people in the absence of the clergy. Dean Milman points out that Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, was called in question, not on the score of allowing Origen to preach, but to preach *while the Bishop was in the church.* Bishop Demetrius was, however, defended by some episcopal contemporaries of his own[2], on the ground that many distinguished laymen had been already exhorted to address the people, as for instance, Paulinus at Iconium

[1] Bingham, *Antiq.* VIII. 7, 12.—Riddle, 693.

[2] Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* VI. 19: quoted by Milman in the passage referred to. (III. 482, n.)

CHAP. IV. by Celsus, and Theodore at Synnada in Phrygia by Atticus. Monks were at first forbidden to preach[1], a prohibition which was altogether lost sight of in the middle ages.

The manner of early preaching.

The following is a brief summary of facts[2] bearing generally upon the *manner* of the early preaching.

Proofs exist in the writings of Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, Theodoret, Chrysostom and Augustine,

Consecutive discourses.

that not one only, but several consecutive discourses were often delivered in the same assembly by different preachers[3]. These discourses may naturally be supposed to have followed the reading of different passages of Scripture, and to have been therefore more or less closely allied to the homiletic character. We must realise to ourselves the far greater freshness with which narratives and expositions of doctrine taken from the Scriptures fell upon the ear of those early congregations, who, as we have seen, had to depend almost entirely on *hearing*, rather than on personal *reading*.

Length of Sermons.

The length of Sermons was, of course, liable to as many fluctuations then, as it is now. But it may be remarked[4] as a general rule, that the discourses of the Greek Fathers are the longer, and of the Latin Fathers very considerably the shorter of the two. The delivery of the latter could rarely have occupied more than half an hour; often not more than ten minutes[5].

Posture.

It was usual in some parts of the ancient community, for the preacher to sit[6] and the people to stand during the delivery of the sermon. The custom prevailed, probably, most widely in the African and Gallican Churches[7];

[1] See the authorities quoted by Riddle, p. 410, n.

[2] Most of these details may be found at greater length in Riddle, p. 411 ff.

[3] Riddle (410) from Bingham.

[4] Riddle, 411.

[5] Cf. Augustine's *Sermons, passim.* Many of them occupy barely a column in the Benedictine folio. But the short-hand writers probably condensed.

[6] Cf. supr. p. 54.

[7] Riddle, 411. Information on this point is to be found in Augustine, *Serm. de Div.* 49, *De Cat. Rud.* 13, and Jerome, *Ep.* 22, *ad Eustoch.*

though there was no general rule, and a very great variety of practice therefore existed. How entirely accidental such variations often are may be inferred from the discrepancy between our own habits of devotion and those of the Scotch, who very generally sit during the psalm or hymn, and stand while at prayer.

Applause.

The applause[1] with which it was customary to greet any extraordinary display of eloquence has been too generally mentioned to need anything more than a mere reference here. It has not been so often pointed out, however, that while the holy seriousness of Chrysostom was grievously offended by these noisy testimonials (κρότος), and rebuked the supererogatory approbation without reserve[2], the more rhetorical Gregory of Nazianzum was by no means proof against the vanity which this custom tended to foster. His farewell discourse at Constantinople[3], indeed, contains an actual *valete, et plaudite.* In the same sermon there is an allusion to the short-hand writers[4]; whose occupation, (among many other references,) we find mentioned by Gaudentius of Brescia[5], who observes in the Preface to his Sermons that the note-takers had inaccurately transcribed his words. To this inaccuracy may be traced the different recension we have of so many of the ancient homilies. The distinction which Gregory draws between 'public and private pens' seems to point to two sets of notaries, the one recognised, as it were, profession-

Short-hand writers.

[1] Riddle, (412, 413,) from Bingham. See below, the chapter on Chrysostom, in the present Essay.

[2] Chrysost. *Hom. in Matth.* 17, and in innumerable passages besides.

[3] Quoted by Neander (*Ch. Hist.* III. 449): κροτήσατε χεῖρας, ὀξὺ βοήσατε, ἄρατε εἰς ὕψος τὸν ῥήτορα ὑμῶν. A very different construction would, of course, be put upon this passage, if we suppose τὸν ῥήτορα to refer to Gregory's successor. (Villemain, *Tableau de l'Eloquence,* p. 131.) But even in that case it would be significant.

[4] χαίρετε γραφίδες φανεραὶ καὶ λανθάνουσαι.

[5] Neander, *Ch. Hist.* III. 450, n., from whence also is taken the remark on the recensions. Cf. also Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* II. 30: 'Basilius, who at that time presided over the Church at Ancyra, opposed Photinus, *the notaries* taking their words in writing.' Basil of Ancyra must be distinguished from Basil the Great, and his namesake of Seleucia.

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ally, the other consisting of amateurs. This point receives further illustration from the alleged[1] refusal of Origen, until his sixtieth year, to admit of regular short-hand writers taking down his sermons; and from the passage in Augustine[2], where he speaks of his brethren as receiving his words, not only with their ears and heart but with their pens likewise.

Extempore preaching.

The early preachers followed[3], with apparently very rare exceptions, the practice of extemporaneous preaching, understanding by that general term all kinds of delivery short of reading from a complete MS., or from very full notes. It was reckoned a desirable if not an essential requisite in a preacher, that he should be able to discourse to the congregation on a part of Holy Scripture, from the pure inspiration of the moment.

In the Church of the fourth century[4], as in that of the nineteenth, there were the two extreme sections, on the one hand of those who unduly depreciated the value of sermons as weighed against the *sensible mediation* of the priests, and on the other of those who would say, 'sermons we can hear nowhere but at church; but we can pray just as well at home[5].'

[1] Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* VI. 36.
[2] *Enarr. in Ps.* li.
[3] Riddle, 415.
[4] Neander, *Church History*, III. 449.
[5] Chrysost. Hom. III. *de Incompr.*

CHAPTER V.

The Apostolic Period. St Peter, St Paul, Polycarp.

Τὰ ῥήματα ἃ δέδωκάς μοι, δέδωκα αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔλαβον, καὶ ἔγνωκαν ἀληθῶς ὅτι παρὰ σοῦ ἐξῆλθον.

Words of our Lord.

Τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γενέσθω.

Eccles. Smyrn. Ep. § 7.

TO have omitted any attempt at a critique, whether on the divinely-commissioned Apostles whose names stand at the head of this chapter, or on their immediate followers, the Apostolical Fathers, of whom we have named Polycarp as the type, would have been an easy and easily justifiable course to pursue. As, however, the Apostolic Sermons have been treated of, by Neander at considerable length, and more briefly by Milman[1], it seemed desirable to introduce a brief analysis of what Neander has said in each case, with allusions, and in the case of St Paul's Athenian discourse with more than an allusion, to the clear and suggestive remarks of the Dean. A very few observations on Polycarp, as the type of the Apostolical Fathers, will bring this chapter to a close.

St Peter's Pentecostal Address.

To begin, then, with St Peter's Sermon on the Day of Pentecost, what has been said by Neander may be thus stated[2].

The Apostles held it to be their duty to defend the Christian community against superficial objections, and to take advantage of the impression made by the late spec-

[1] Neander, *Planting of Christianity*, Vol. I. pp. 18, 41, 186. Milman, *History of Christianity*, Vol. I. pp. 387—390, Vol. II. pp. 14 ff.

[2] *Planting of Christianity*, I. 18 ff.

CHAP. V. tacle, so as to lead them to a living faith in the Master of such divine power. St Peter, speaking for the rest, shews,

The substance of Neander's Paraphrase.

That the unwonted appearances then before them were not the effects of ebriety, but the signs of the Advent of the Messianic era, predicted by Joel (ii. 29—32); the manifestations of an extraordinary and *general* effusion of the Spirit. This era will be distinguished by many portents, precursors of the epoch of Judgment. But believers in the Messiah need not fear this judgment; they may look for salvation.

Now Jesus, whose miracles verified his Divine Mission, *is* the Old Testament Messiah. Do not urge against him his ignominious death. It was necessary to the completion of his work. It was pre-ordained. Subsequent events, namely, his resurrection and ascension, prove this: and, from the present miracle, you see the divine energy with which he now works on believers. The heavenly Father has promised that the Messiah shall fill them all with the Spirit; this is now being fulfilled.—Learn, then, from these events, learn from this fulfilment of the prophecies, the nothingness of your attempts against him. Know that God has exalted him whom you crucified, to be Messiah, the Ruler of God's kingdom: and that through Divine Power He will overcome all his enemies.

Such is the analysis of Neander's paraphrase in the case of the Pentecostal Address. The following is the Sermon delivered to that wondering crowd, who gathered round the Preacher and St John, as they left the temple, accompanied by the man who had been lame[1]:—

Sermon after the healing of the lame man.

The substance of Neander's Paraphrase.

Why look ye so earnestly on us, as if our own power or holiness had done this deed? It is the work of the

[1] *Planting of Christianity*, I. 42.

Holy One whom you delivered up to the Gentiles, whose death you demanded when even the heathen judge saw cause to release Him. CHAP. V.

(This was the charge which St Peter had used since the Day of Pentecost, in order to lead the Jews to conviction and repentance.)

God Himself has by subsequent events justified Him, and proved your guilt—God, who was with our fathers revealed to them by miracles, has now revealed Himself by the glorification of the condemned Jesus—You slew Him (God having destined this, to give us eternal blessedness); God has raised Him, and we are witnesses of the fact. The believing confidence, which He has put into our hearts, has wrought the miracle you now see.

(St Peter spoke to them, not as to reprobates, but as to men whom he hoped to convince; inasmuch as he trusted)

That their guilt was extenuated by ignorance; they were over-ruled by the necessity and eternal counsel of God. Now was the time to prove this ignorance, by allowing this miracle to bring them to a sense of their unrighteousness; by repenting; by believing in, and seeking pardon from, this Messiah. Thus only could they expect deliverance from evil, and full salvation; for He was now hidden from sight, working from heaven by miracle invisibly. But when the great Fulfilment, the completion of all things, should come, He would appear again on earth to effect it: for Moses and the Prophets have spoken of His work as the *consummation*. And they were the persons in whom the prophecies would be fulfilled. The Promise to Abraham and the Fathers of blessing through them to all the earth, belonged to this generation. As one

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day the blessing from the promised seed should extend to the whole world, so it would be *first* fulfilled in them, if they turned from their sins to Him.

St Paul's Sermon at Athens.

Turning now to St Paul's memorable Sermon at Athens, we proceed to furnish an analysis of Neander's account of that also[1]. St Paul views the whole religion of the Athenians as the worship of a God unknown to themselves; and presents himself as a person who is ready to lead them to a clear self-consciousness respecting the object of their deeply-seated religious sentiment[2].

Substance of Neander's Paraphrase.

I announce to you Him whom you worship without knowing it. He is the God who created the world and all things therein. He, Lord of Heaven and Earth, requires no temple, no human service. All-sufficient, He has given all life, and breath, and all things—He too is the originator of our race, and conducts its development to one great end. He has caused all nations to descend from one man;

(Quite a new idea to the Greeks, and bound up with Monotheism.)

and has not allowed them to spread by chance; for in this He is all-controlling, appointing their dwelling-places, their eras, their development in time and space. Thus God has revealed Himself in the vicissitudes of nations, that men may be led to seek after Him, to try if they can know and find Him, which they might easily do, since He is near us all, the Root of our existence.

(As a proof of the consciousness of this original relation-

[1] *Planting of Christianity*, I. 191.

[2] It is a very obvious objection to urge that the 'Altar to the Unknown God' *need* not imply this amount of religious feeling. (Cf. Acts xvii. 21.) A careful meditation, however, on St Paul's words will probably incline us to agree with the opposite view. See the note (p. 64) on Eichhorn's view of the 'Altar.'

ship to God, he quotes the words of Aratus, a heathen, one of themselves;)

> 'For we are the offspring of God.' Since we are so, we ought not to believe that the Divinity is like any earthly material, any work of human art.

This negative assertion manifestly includes a positive one. And now, instead of carrying on the argument against idolatry, St Paul leaves his hearers to decide for themselves, and assuming the consciousness of sin (without attempting to develop it) proceeds with the annunciation of the Gospel.

> After God had with great long-suffering endured the times of this ignorance, He now revealed the truth to all, and required all to acknowledge it and repent. With this is connected the annunciation of the Redeemer, of forgiveness to be obtained through Him, of His Resurrection as confirming His doctrine, and a pledge of the Resurrection of believers to a blessed life, as well as of the Judgment He would pass on all mankind.

As long as the Apostle confined himself to the general doctrine of Theism, he was heard with attention. But when he touched on the Resurrection, the Christian as markedly opposed to the heathen view of the world, he was met either by ridicule, or by a courteous request to defer the question.

Substance of Milman's remarks.

Milman[1] is particularly clear, with reference to this Sermon, in pointing out the passages which would meet with assent or disapproval at the hands of either Epicureans or Stoics. *At first* all were agreed or, at least, were inclined to be acquiescent. To the proclamation of a higher conception of the Supreme Being, as the universal Father

[1] *History of Christianity*, II. 18.

CHAP. V.

and the Fountain of life, who disdained to dwell in a temple, and needed nothing from the hand of man[1], the Philosopher of the Garden as well as of the Porch might listen with wonder and admiration.

But the agency of the Atomic Theory and the government of Chance (Epicurus) were soon invaded by the assumption of God's *Providence* as the conservative, ruling, and ordaining principle. And though the Stoic would approve the condemnation of idolatry, he would soon feel the difference between his own inexorable Necessity and the Christian notion of God's Providence, on one side; and, on the other, he would be scandalized, though the moral value of human action was fixed at the very highest level, by the utter abasement of the 'perfect man,' who would be set to learn repentance in the school of Christ, side by side with the outcasts of intellect and morality alike.

The Stoic, however, would receive with suspension of judgment, while the Epicurean would only ridicule, the last great and crowning point in the solemn address, the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection of the dead[2].

There is little or nothing to be added to the critiques of these two historians of the Early Church. It may be submitted, however, and it is submitted with the most unfeigned diffidence, that in both the histories there is the *tendency* to carry an admiration of these Apostolic remains too far, as remains of eloquence. Their very brevity warns us that they do but indicate the lines of thought and argument which were in each case adopted and pursued in

Excessive admiration of these Sermons, as remains of eloquence.

[1] Milman alludes to the Lucretian 'nihil indiga nostri.' (I. 61.)

[2] A large collection of opinions bearing on the 'Altar to the Unknown God' may be found in Neander's first volume of the *Planting*. Milman (II. 18) considers that of Eichhorn to be the most 'ingenious and natural.' It is this: that there were very ancient altars, older than the art of writing, or on which time had effaced the inscriptions, and that the piety of later days had re-dedicated them to 'the Unknown.' Pausanias (*Attic.* I. 4, *Eliac.* V. 14) and Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* VI. 3), are *loci classici* on this point.

obedience to the Holy Spirit of God; of the *manner* in which these arguments were urged upon the audience we have, in fact, no means of judging. It is idle to talk of looking at the *effects*, when miracles went side by side with speech: and hasty inferences from the three thousand converts of St Peter[1] may precipitate us into equally fallacious ones in another direction, when we read of 'certain men' as the scanty fruit of St Paul's Athenian discourse[2].

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians, which is indeed a mirror of many most important features in the great Apostle's personal character, has been ransacked to gain evidence for or against the eloquence of its author as a preacher. As a specimen of the uncritical character of much or most that has been written on this subject, it may be mentioned that 'the thorn in the flesh' has been regarded[3] as a temporary obscuration of St Paul's brilliant oratorical powers, and the 'weak and contemptible bodily presence' as the outward manifestation of the inward rebuke. A great deal more of a similar character may be found in that bulky repertory, Pool's *Synopsis Criticorum*, which is only an abridgment and digest of a still vaster collection, the *Critici Sacri*, published in 1660, by a bookseller named Bee, nine years before the appearance of Pool's work.

Bentley's opinion on St Paul's Greek learning.

The fact of Bentley having lent the weight of his authority to that opinion which would regard St Paul as a student of Greek Literature, has given the question a vitality which it does not deserve, and which it would otherwise probably have missed. Certainly, with all the deference which that great name secures to itself, it may be

[1] Acts ii. 41.

[2] Acts xvii. 34.

[3] This is one of the innumerable turns which have been given to this *quæstio vexata*. The words of Neander, as quoted in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Bibl. Lit.*, are well worth transcription: 'We must regard it (the thorn) as something strictly personal, affecting him not as an Apostle, but as Paul; though, in the absence of any information as to its characteristics, it would be foolish to decide more precisely *what* it was.'—*Apostol. Zeit.* I. 228.

CHAP. V. admitted that the three actual[1], and several supposed, references to Greek Authors, are hardly sufficient to counteract the antecedent improbability[2], even under the guidance of the tolerant and large-minded Gamaliel, of St Paul having found time for their study in the course of that eager Pharisaical education.

The Apostolical Fathers. We shall bring this chapter to a close by a few remarks on the Apostolical Fathers, so nearly the contemporaries of the Apostles, yet so different from them: to whose writings, from the Sacred Canon, the transition is so abrupt, as to form of itself a striking witness to the Divine agency which specially worked in the souls of the Apostles.

Clemens Romanus. Of Clemens Romanus there is but little to be said in connexion with our subject. His celebrated Epistle to the Corinthians[3] consists for the most part of exhortations to concord, humility, and other Christian virtues, expressed in a simple and artless style. The sublime prayer at its conclusion will be found translated a little below.

Ignatius. Ignatius was, probably, a teacher of real ability and zeal at Antioch, a worthy precursor at nearly three hundred years' distance, of the moral though not the intellectual greatness of Chrysostom. The very names, however, of Pearson's *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ* and of Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum* may remind us that there is an Ignatian Controversy of almost fabulous dimensions between us and this Church Father.

Polycarp. With Polycarp it is not so. Of his Epistles we have only one extant, supposed to have been written soon after the martyrdom of Ignatius[4]; and of this only a part has been preserved in the original Greek, though an old Latin translation remains of the entire epistle. We have, how-

[1] From the *Phænomena* (5) of Aratus, his countryman. (Acts xvii. 28.) From a lost play of Menander. (1 Cor. xv. 33.) From Epimenides. (Tit. i. 12.)

[2] Cf. Neander, *Planting of Christianity*, I. 80.

[3] Written probably about A.D. 96.

[4] Cf. Jacobson, *Patres Apostolici*, Vol. I.

ever, the affecting account of his martyrdom which his own Church forwarded to the opposite extremity of the Asiatic peninsula[1], and which bears every mark of authenticity. He is there spoken of[2] as a 'distinguished teacher,' no less than an eminent martyr; and we know from other sources that he ranked at the time of his martyrdom as the foremost Christian in the East, and had sat at the feet of the Apostle John. His reported words to Marcion[3], Ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ, and his words before the Pro-consul[4], Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, may be taken as symbols of his rigid orthodoxy and calm fortitude. We are not surprised at finding Jews and Heathens alike joining in an overwhelming shout, *This man is the teacher of all Asia*[5], the overthrower of our deities, who teaches so many not to sacrifice and not to do worship.

His words to Marcion, and before the Pro-consul.

The source of all this power is best learnt from the tranquil and simple prayer (*Ep.* § 14) which has been thus translated by Milman:—

His prayer.

'O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well-beloved and ever-blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of Thee: the God of angels, powers, and of every creature, and of the whole race of the righteous who live before thee, I thank thee that thou hast graciously thought me worthy of this day and of this hour, that I may receive a portion in the number of thy martyrs, and drink of Christ's cup, for the resurrection to eternal life both of body and soul in the incorruptibleness of the Holy Spirit: among whom may I be admitted this day, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as thou, O true and faithful God, hast prepared and foreshewn and accomplished.

[1] The dedication is: τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ. Jacobson, 562. 'Philomelium or Philadelphia.'—Milman, II. 184.

[2] *Eccles. Smyrn. Ep.* § 19: διδάσκαλος ἐπίσημος.

[3] Irenæus, III. 3, 4.

[4] *Eccles. Smyrn. Ep.* § 9.

[5] *Ibid.* § 12.

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Wherefore I praise thee for all thy mercies: I bless thee, I glorify thee, with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son, to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be glory, now and for ever.'

To this the noble prayer of Clement[1] will form a fitting sequel:—

The prayer of Clemens.

'May the all-seeing God, the ruler of spirits and Lord of all flesh, who hath chosen the Lord Jesus Christ, and us by him for a peculiar people, grant unto every soul that calls upon his name, (glorious and holy,) faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, temperance, holiness and wisdom, unto all well-pleasing, through our high-priest and advocate Jesus Christ: through whom be unto Him all glory, majesty, might, and honour, now and for ever.'

The late Dean Conybeare has said[2] that, in reading the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp, we find them breathing a spirit so truly Apostolical, as to make us almost feel the 'mantle' of St Paul. This is true of the *spirit*. But we miss the authority of inspiration in the *language*, and look in vain for human 'style.'

[1] At the end of the genuine *Epistle*. Translated in Riddle (*Christian Antiq.* p. 10).

[2] *Bampton Lectures*, p. 112.

CHAPTER VI.

The Philosophic and Mystic Period. (1) *Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Tertullian.*

> .....Knowledge is of things we see;
> And yet we trust it comes from thee;
> A beam in darkness; let it grow.
>
> TENNYSON.

'Of Tertullian it especially holds good, that he can be understood only from within:—that we must possess a mental consanguinity with the spirit which dwelt in him, in order to recognise in the defective form that higher quality which it contains, and to set it free from that confined form—and this is always the business of genuine historical composition.'

NEANDER, *Antignostikus.*

The Apologists.

NEXT to the Apostolical Fathers in the series of Christian witnesses come the Apologists, of whom the nature of our present subject precludes a special notice. Yet the study of their remains is full of interest[1]; and the history of the second century is far from being complete without the diligent perusal of Justin Martyr and Athenagoras.

The names of these Christian writers introduce us to the subject of this chapter, in so far as Clemens and Origen are concerned. Justin at any rate had visited Alexandria; and it is said, though on very doubtful authority, that Athenagoras was at one time president of the Catechetical School[2]. This widely-celebrated School, whether founded by St Mark or not[3], was in a very flourishing condition in the reign of Commodus, about one hundred and twenty years after that traditionary foundation.

[1] See a critique on Gibbon's remarks (c. xv.) in Bishop Kaye, *Tertullian*, p. 133.

[2] Conybeare's *Bampton Lectures*, IV. p. 191.

[3] According to tradition in A.D. 60.

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Pantænus[1], originally a Stoic philosopher, and said to have been a missionary in India before the close of his life, was president at that time; and he has gained a vicarious reputation beyond his own, which is not inconsiderable, by having had for a pupil, Titus Flavius Clemens. This man, the first of the three whom we have taken as the representatives of the earlier half of the present period, is the philosophizing teacher among the group: Origen is the profoundly inquisitive and learned expositor of the Scriptures: Tertullian is the great man. We proceed to remark briefly upon them in order.

Clemens.

§ 1. Clemens.

	A.D.
Clemens was born probably about	150
„ flourished under Severus and Caracalla	192—217
„ died probably about	220

The following[2] is Jerome's list of his works: (1) *The Stromata*, in eight books: (2) *The Hypotyposes*[3], in eight books: One book addressed *to the Gentiles: Pædagogus*, in four books: A Book concerning *Easter:* A Discourse concerning *Fasting:* the famous *Discourse* entitled Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος;—one Book on Slander: and one on *the Ecclesiastical Canons*, dedicated to Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem. Of these we possess, nearly entire, *The Pædagogus; The Stromata; The Address to the Gentiles:* and the tract *Who is the Rich Man*, &c. All the rest, which are described by Jerome as being replete with learning and eloquence, and embracing both sacred and profane literature, are represented to us only by fragments.

Jerome's list of his works.

Neander[4] traces one connecting idea running through and being developed in the Protreptic Discourse (to the

The Λόγος Προτρεπτικός.

[1] Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* VI. 6.

[2] Kaye, *Clemens*, p. 5.

[3] Rufinus translates this word 'adumbrationes.' Clement expresses by it the delineation, form, or outline of a thing. 'Shadings' has been not inaptly suggested.

[4] *Church History*, II. 455.

Gentiles), this being an apologetic production, intended, as it were, to break ground for what should follow; in the *Pædagogus;* and in the *Stromata.* This idea is, that the Logos (Divine Teacher) first conducts the rude heathen, sunk in sin and idolatry, to the faith; then still further reforms their lives by moral precepts: and finally elevates the morally purified to that profounder knowledge of divine things, which he calls the γνῶσις. Thus the Logos has a threefold agency, converting, informing, initiatory. The prevailing feature of the mind of Clement, and abundant evidences are furnished even in the portions of his writings which remain to us, was a want of system and a tendency to fragmentary thought. Yet there are thoughts sketched out here and there with a masterly vigour, and with bright flashes of intellect that clearly explain to us how great a stimulus he was capable of giving to the minds of his scholars, as he did to Origen in particular. CHAP. VI.

We shall now proceed to give a few specimens of his power of eloquence, confining the selection of passages to the Λόγος Προτρεπτικός, and adopting the translations either of Bishop Kaye or Dean Conybeare. This *Address* was an especial favourite with the latter of these writers, who speaks of it[1] as written in a style of earnest and glowing eloquence. It is occasionally, as he also remarks, defective in taste, too declamatory and diffuse, abounding in repetition, and altogether having more the character of an extemporaneous harangue, than of a studied written composition. But these defects are far more than compensated[2] by the warmth of piety and depth of feeling with which the author has endeavoured to apply the great principles of Christianity. *Its characteristics.*

Having remarked[3] that the Greeks believed the old myths of Orpheus and of Amphion,

[1] *Bampton Lectures,* IV. p. 194. [2] Cf. chapter I. of this *Essay.*
[3] Clemens, *Log. Protr.* cap. I.

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'Yet,' he proceeds, 'though the face of truth is now revealed to them in all its brightness, they look on it with suspicious eyes. Let us leave them to their Cithæron and Helicon, and the feasts of Bacchus, and their dramatic exhibitions, which are chiefly founded on the calamities and crimes of man. Let us turn to the mountain of God, and to the holy prophetic choir, and draw down from heaven Truth, with her companion, Wisdom: that, diffusing her light around, she may enlighten all who are involved in darkness, and may free men from error, extending to them intelligence (*σύνεσιν*) as it were a hand to guide them to salvation. Orpheus, Amphion, Arion, and the Greek musicians employed their skill in confirming the perverseness of man, and leading him to idols, and stocks, and stones. Not so the Christian musician; he comes to destroy the bitter tyranny of demons; to substitute in its place the mild and gentle yoke of piety; to raise to heaven those who had been cast down upon the earth. He alone has tamed man, the most savage of beasts; and has indeed made men *out of stones*, by raising up a Holy Seed from among the Gentiles *who believed in stones*[1]. Such is the power of the New Song: it has converted stones and beasts into men. They who were dead, without any portion of the real life, have revived at the mere sound[2].'

Clemens, Log. Protr. c. 1.

Clemens, Log Protr. c. 78.

Custom is a great point of attack with Clemens. Custom induces men to drink to excess, to commit injuries, to deify dead men, to worship idols. He thus tries to arouse the attention of those minds, with whom idol-worship has become a thing of habit:

[1] This is precisely the kind of turn we might look for in a sermon of Gregory of Nazianzum, or indeed almost any preacher of the 4th century, not excepting Chrysostom.

[2] Kaye, *Clemens*, pp. 10, 11.

'Though[1] the artizan can make an idol, he has never made a breathing image, or formed soft flesh out of earth. Who liquefied the marrow? Who hardened the bones? Who extended the nerves? who inflated the veins? who infused the blood into them? who stretched the skin around them? Who made the eye to see? Who breathed the soul into the body? Who freely gave righteousness? Who has promised immortality? The Creator of all things alone, the Supreme Artizan, made man a living image: but your Olympian Jove, the image of an image, far differing from the truth, is the dumb work of Attic hands. The image of God is His Word; the legitimate Son of Intelligence, the Divine Word, the original Light of light: and the image of the Word is the true man, the mind which is in man, who on this account is said to be in the image and likeness of God, being assimilated to the Divine Word (or Reason) by the understanding in his heart, and therefore rational. But the earthly image of the visible man, the man sprung from the earth, the resemblance of man, appears as it were a momentary impression (ἐκμαγεῖον), far removed from the truth[2].' CHAP. VI.

The following passage is full of solemn fervour[3]: *Clemens, Log. Protr. c. 9.*

'Remember, that unless ye become children by a new birth, the Scripture plainly testifieth that ye shall never be able to recover your true Father, nor to enter His heavenly kingdom: for that is inaccessible to the stranger and the alien, and he alone who is enrolled and made free of that city, and hath regained his heavenly Father, shall there dwell in that Father's house, receive his inheritance, and enjoy communion with His true and beloved Son. Such is the Church of the first-begotten written in the heavens, and rejoicing

[1] Clemens, *Log. Pr.* 78. [2] Kaye, *Clemens*, p. 25. [3] Clemens, *Log. Pr.* 9.

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around the divine throne with myriads of angels. Does God freely offer so great salvation, and will you still blindly rush into destruction?....." Awake," He saith, "thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." "To-day if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts:" and this to-day shall last till that phrase can be used no more. For the day of instruction shall endure until the consummation of time itself: until the real and unfading day of God shall be co-extended through eternity. Oh, if an entrance into that eternity could be purchased, were not the whole of Pactolus too small a price? Yet to you it is freely offered: and requires but the treasure of a living faith, and love placed in your own possession. Yet how many cling to this world, as the sea-weed to the rocks of the shore, and regard not this glorious immortality; but true religion can be learned effectually from God alone; He is the only perfect teacher: He alone has power to renew in man the likeness of His own image[1].'

General remarks on his genius.

The main points in the system of Clemens which would be likely to militate against his success as a preacher of the Gospel, may be most readily appreciated by an examination of the various descriptions scattered by him throughout the *Stromata*, and tending to illustrate his conception of the true Gnostic character. The summary given by Bishop Kaye (229—262) is at once moderate in compass and clear in the execution. Perhaps the most conspicuous deformity in the system is the exaggerated refinement of mysticism and quietism[2], after the manner of Madame Guyon in modern times. He attributes to our Lord the *ἀπαθεία* to which he would have the Christian attain; on which point the remark of Scultetus is quoted by Conybeare:—'Atqui,

[1] Conybeare, *Bampton Lectures*, IV. p. 199.
[2] Cf. Clem. *Stromata*, VI. 9.

o Clemens, Christus ἐδάκρυσεν ad sepulcrum Lazari; idem- CHAP. VI.
que ἠγαλλιάσατο τῷ πνεύματι.'

§ 2. Origen.

	A.D.
Origen was born probably in	185 (or 186)
„ died	253 (or 254)

Origen.

It is universally allowed[1] that few men of his age equalled Origen in piety and active benevolence: that, in point of learning and industry, he occupied the very first rank; and that a greater amount of valuable knowledge, both sacred and profane, might be derived from his writings than from those of any other ecclesiastical author. Not that he was by any means exempt from eccentricities and practical errors: but they were in general calculated to hurt nobody but himself; and in consideration of his acknowledged merits, they might have been overlooked, or, at all events, opposed with calmness and moderation. And this was, in fact, the course taken by Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, and other illustrious Fathers of the Church. They speak of him with respect while they combat his errors. They fully admit that 'ubi benè nemo melius,' while they conscientiously insist upon it that 'ubi malè nemo pejus.' Above all, they thankfully bear witness to the benefit which they derived from his works.

His great merits recognized by the Fathers of the fourth century.

But, unfortunately, there was an influential party in the Church, composed of men of small capacity, strong prejudices, and a meddling unquiet disposition, who deliberately undertook to work out, as far as in them lay, the ruin of his reputation. The abstract of St Pamphilus's *Apology for Origen*, preserved by Rufinus, sufficiently describes the character and motives of this clique. We learn from that source that the opponents of Origen were, some

His opponents.

[1] For many of the following remarks, I am indebted to a review of Canon Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, in the *Edinb. Rev.* of July, 1849.

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of them grossly ignorant, some wickedly malicious. And the consequences have been seriously detrimental to the cause of learning and truth in a variety of ways. Origen was long held up as an object of odium throughout the greater part of Christendom. Many of his most important works have been completely suppressed: and much of what remains has been so much meddled with by enemies or injudicious friends, that a calm inquirer of the present day can only avail himself to a very limited degree of the fruits of Origen's researches; and has only suspicious and garbled data for ascertaining his real opinions. There would have been a very different sort of treatment bestowed on this Church Father, if he had been only a Pagan commentator on Aristotle[1].

His works.

It is indeed only a wreck of Origen that we now possess, even if the accounts of his prolific genius are to some extent overdone. The *Philocalia* is but a chrestomathy of his writings, being the result and the monument of the joint studies pursued by Basil and Gregory Nazianzen during the period of their youthful friendship. His most important labours consisted of the Editions of the Hebrew Text and Greek Versions of the Old Testament. The *Tetrapla* contained the four Greek Versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion, arranged in four columns. And the *Hexapla* was formed by the addition of the Hebrew text in one column, and of the same in Greek characters in another. Coleridge[2] has lamented the loss of this last labour, more than any other loss which Biblical Literature has ever sustained. The sounds, as known in the third century, would have been by this means fixed for us. 'I never can digest,' he says in another place,

Coleridge's remarks.

[1] A similar, though mitigated, fate has befallen the writings of *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, a man eminent alike in the promotion of sacred literature, and in the defence of Catholic doctrine against its Pagan impugners.

[2] *Table Talk*, p. 281.

'the loss of most of Origen's works[1].' He was inclined to adopt a very enthusiastic view of Origen's relative position among the Church Fathers; considering him far superior to Jerome[2], and calling him the only scholar and genius combined, among the number. It is probable, however, that this was only one of Coleridge's hasty *dicta*, which ought either never to have been committed to the page of a permanent book, or to have been very carefully qualified by the editor. If he meant 'biblical scholar' in the passage referred to, there would be more of truth in the assertion. But even then it would be hard to deny that the genius of Augustine and of Chrysostom as well, as applied to exegesis, did not far surpass that of Origen, and more than compensate for his very great superiority in technical scholarship.

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The Hexapla.

Of the *Hexapla*, as well as of the *Stromata* and *Principia* (περὶ ἀρχῶν), only fragments now remain. Rufinus's translation of the *Principia*, made in the fourth century[3], does indeed exist entire; but so much has been added by him, on his own confession, to the original text, that his work cannot be regarded as a fair exhibition of the great scholar's opinions.

Rufinus's translation of the Principia.

The Λόγος Ἀληθής.

The Answer to Celsus (Λόγος Ἀληθής), who lived in the reigns of Hadrian and the Antonines, has always been regarded even by his enemies as one of the best apologies ever written for the Christian religion, besides being a satisfactory reply to his direct opponent. One of the most favourable specimens of the sound sense displayed in this work is to be found in the answer to an objection made by the Jews in Celsus, impugning the validity of Christ's

[1] *Table Talk*, p. 307.

[2] We shall see below, chap. VIII., that this was not Niebuhr's view of Jerome.

[3] Rufinus was born about the middle of the 4th century, and died in 410. He was a thorough metaphrast in his treatment, not only of Origen, but of some portions of Gregory of Nazianzum and Basil as well. Aquileia was his birthplace: he travelled much in Egypt and Palestine, and died in Sicily.

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resurrection on the score of certain fabulous returns from the dead[1].

The Treatise on Martyrdom.

With all the unnatural notions of estrangement from human passion, and the false conceptions about the nature of martyrdom, which pervade it, the treatise on Martyrdom, addressed to two confessors[2] under the persecution of Maximin, is full of noble passages, and presents a good specimen of that style which Augustine called the *temperata dictio*[3]. The following extracts, taken from p. 4 and p. 37, are translated in Neander's History[4].

> 'I could wish that you two, keeping in mind through the whole conflict that awaits you the exceeding great reward in heaven for those who suffer persecution and reproach for the sake of righteousness and of the Son of man, may rejoice and be glad, as the apostles once rejoiced when they were found worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Christ. But if anguish should ever enter your souls, may the Spirit of Christ that dwells within you, tempted though you may be on your part to dispossess it, enable you to cry, "Why troublest thou me, my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope in God; for I shall yet praise Him, who is the health of my countenance and my God[5]." May it, however, never be troubled: but even before the tribunal itself, and under the naked sword aimed at your necks, may it be preserved by that peace of God which passeth all understanding.'

In the second passage he says to them,

> 'Since the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and is a discerner

[1] *Contr. Cels.* II. 56.

[2] One of these was Ambrosius, called by Origen his ἐργοδιώκτης, from the special interest he took in his scientific labours.

[3] See below, chap. X.

[4] Neand. *Ch. Hist.* II. 475.

[5] Ps. lxiii. 5.

of the thoughts and intents of the heart, so let this Divine Word, at this time especially, cause to reign in our souls, as He did in His apostles, that peace which passeth all understanding: but he has cast a sword between the image of the earthly and the image of the heavenly within us, that he may for the present receive our heavenly man to himself: so that when we have so far attained as to need no more separation[1], he may make us altogether heavenly. And he came not only to bring the sword, but also to send fire on the earth; concerning which he says, "What will I, if it be already kindled[2]?" May this fire then be kindled even in you, and consume every earthly feeling in you; and cause you to be joyfully baptized with that baptism of which Jesus spake. And thou, Ambrosius, who hast a wife, and children, brothers and sisters, remember the words of the Lord; "Whoever cometh unto me, and hateth not his father, mother, wife, children, brothers, and sisters, cannot be my disciple." But both of you be mindful of the words, "If any man cometh unto me, and hate not even his own life, he cannot be my disciple."'

The Homilies.

Very similar to this is the prevailing style of the Homilies. Origen laid his prohibition upon the regular notaries[3], until his sixtieth year, when his severe determination relented, and above a thousand of his discourses were taken down before his death.

But, notwithstanding the reports of his eloquence during the passage through Antioch of the Empress Mammæa, mother of Alexander Severus[4], reports which were sure to obtain credit in the case of any man of half the learning or

[1] Separation, that is, of the earthly and heavenly.

[2] St Luke xii. 49.

[3] See above, p. 113.

[4] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, II. 449.

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Origen a Scholar rather than a Preacher.

half the celebrity among his contemporaries which Origen possessed, it will be as a Scholar rather than a Preacher that a perusal of his works will always cause him to be regarded. As a Lecturer to young men his ability must have been of a first-rate order, inasmuch as he succeeded Clemens in the management of the Catechetical School at the early age of eighteen, recalling to our minds the early eminence of Melancthon in another age of the Church; and also, after his removal to Palestine, a circle of youths was always around him[1], being trained under his influence to fill the posts of theologians and of church-teachers.

His unwearied industry as a Student.

This notice shall be brought to a close by a transcript of Origen's own account of his indefatigable industry as a Scholar.

> 'The collation of manuscripts,' he says, 'leaves me no time to eat: and after meals I can neither go out nor enjoy a season of rest: but even at these times I am compelled to continue my philological investigations and the correction of manuscripts. Even the night is not granted me for repose; but a great part of it is claimed for these philological inquiries. I will not mention the time from early in the morning till the ninth and sometimes the tenth hour of the day: for all who take pleasure in such labours employ those hours in the study of the divine word, and in reading[2].'

We omit any mention of *Irenæus*, whose reputation is entirely that of a controversialist, and pass to the great Latin Father of this period. The '*Elenchus*' of Irenæus has been carefully analyzed by Riddle[3].

[1] Neander, *Ch. Hist.* II. 474. [2] Origenis *Opera*, I. 3 (De la Rue).
[3] *Christian Antiquities*, p. 32 ff.

§ 3. Tertullian.

		A.D.
Sept. 2,	Florens Tertullianus born (Tillemont)	160[1]
,,	became a Montanist	200 (?)
,,	wrote the *Ad Scapulam*	216
,,	died 'at a great age' (Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.* 53).	

We will begin by stating what has been said of Tertullian by Niebuhr[2]. After speaking of A. Gellius and Fronto, he says—

Niebuhr's remarks on Tertullian and the African School.

'At a somewhat later period there arose a peculiar school called the African, which continued to the time of Arnobius, about the middle of the third century. The writers of this school combined refinement of thought with that of language[3], and thus separated themselves from the Roman school. They are spoken of as if they had written in a peculiar dialect, and it might therefore seem strange that the language of Apuleius and Tertullian, who were both Africans and belonged to this school, has never been censured for any dialectic peculiarities. But the notion that their language had anything provincial in it is quite erroneous. Its only peculiarity is that it abounds in words and expressions taken from the ancient Latin writers, which they collected and employed. This system was at the same period adopted to a certain extent in Greek literature also[4]. Apuleius and Tertullian, however, were both men of great talent..... Their works are real storehouses of ancient Latin, though the hunting after ancient words was, with men like these, in reality no more than a fanciful whim..... Tertullian too produced some spirited and substantial

[1] The date of his birth has been placed as early as 135.

[2] *Lectures on Roman History*, edited by Dr Schmitz, III. 242.

[3] Tertullian was, of course, an exception to this characteristic of the school.

[4] He mentions Hadrian in a note, and instances the *Lexiphanes* of Lucian.

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works; when, *e.g.* he writes against the theatres, and has *to treat of a reality*, he shews that he is a great author, and is very instructive; while Aristides, in his declamation on the battle of Leuctra, is trying to entertain his readers with idle and silly trash[1]. Tertullian is one of those writers *whom I can recommend to every one*, not merely to theologians on account of his importance in ecclesiastical history, but to scholars also, who should devote more attention to the ecclesiastical fathers in general, and thus follow the example of Scaliger, Hemsterhuys, Valckenaer, and others.'

Passages from Tertullian.

Let us now turn to Tertullian himself, and look at some of his own manly and earnest words in the tract *De Spectaculis*, which was perhaps occasioned by the celebrations on the news of the victories of the Emperor Septimius Severus[2], and in which he is indeed 'treating of realities.' The following is a passage where he is appealing to the judgment of the heathen themselves, in whose eyes abstinence from the Shows was one mark of a Christian[3]:—

De Spect. c. 24, 25.

'No one goes over to the enemy's camp, without having first thrown away his own arms, without having first deserted the standard and oaths of his own chief, and having set his hand (as it were) to his own destruction at the same moment that those oaths become void. Will he think concerning God at that very time when he finds himself in a place where there is nothing of God at all? Will *he* have peace in his soul, who is contending for the charioteer? Will he learn modesty, who is staring at the buffoons? Modesty, indeed! When in all the show nothing more

[1] The five *Leuctric Orations* of Aristides occupy no less than 69 pages in the first volume of Jebb's Oxford edition. (1722.)

[2] Neander, *Antignostikus*, b. I.

[3] Tertull. *De Spect.* 24, 25. This tract is one of those published in Currey's useful edition.

offensive is to be met with, than the excessive adorning of men and women. The chief concern of every one who goes there is to see and to be seen.'

Thus furnishing practical evidence of the absence of modesty. He continues,—

'While the tragedian is vociferating, will you meditate on the exclamations of a prophet? and during the melodies of an effeminate player, will you be meditating on a Psalm? During the contests of the Athletæ, will you say that we are not to return a blow? and can he be moved to pity, whose attention is fixed on the bites of bears, and the sponges of them that fight with nets?.....What a thing it is, to go from the church of God to the church of the devil! to weary those hands in applauding a player, which thou hast been lifting up to God! *to give a testimony to a gladiator with a mouth that has said "Amen" to the Holy Ghost! to say "For ever and ever" to any being save to God and to Christ*[1].'

The whole soul of Tertullian was stirred to its lowest depths by the abominable nature of these cruel and licentious shows. In the nineteenth chapter of this treatise, he says that no one who has not been an actual spectator, can adequately describe these scenes, and that he would himself rather fail in describing them than think of them again. It is owing to this intensity of feeling on the subject, that the tract *De Spectaculis* is, perhaps, the very best place in the whole of his works, from whence to extract specimens of his powers of eloquence. One more shall be here introduced, in which he is contrasting the joys which the Christian gains with those which he gives up[2];—

De Spect. c. 19.

This treatise affords the best specimens of his eloquence.

[1] The words in the text are εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος. Tertullian alludes to the cry of νίκας νικήσεις ἀπ' αἰῶνος; with which Dion tells us that Commodus was greeted.

[2] Tertull. *De Spect.* 28, 29.

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De Spect. c. 8, 29.

'What else is our desire, but that of the Apostle; to depart from the world; to be received with the Lord? Where our desire is, there is our delight.

'And then, if you do but reflect that even this life too is to be spent in delights, how can you be so ungrateful as not to be content with, and not to acknowledge, the many and the great pleasures that God bestows upon you? For what is more delightful than reconciliation with God, our Father and our Lord? than the revelation of truth? than the discovery of errors? than the pardon of so grievous offences past? What greater pleasure than a distaste for pleasure itself? than a contempt for the whole world? than true liberty? than a pure conscience? than a blameless life? than no fear of death? than to tread under foot the gods of the Gentiles? to cast out dæmons? to perform cures? to seek for revelations? to live unto God? These are the pleasures, these the shows, of Christians, holy, everlasting, gratuitous.....If knowledge, if literature delight a man's mind, we have enough of books, enough of verses, enough of maxims, enough also of song, enough of music; no stage-plots, but verities, no cunningly wrought stanzas, but simple strains. Wouldest thou have fightings and wrestlings? Behold, immodesty cast down by chastity, perfidy slain by fidelity, cruelty crushed by compassion, arrogance eclipsed by modesty. Such are our contests in which we gain the crown. Wouldest thou also somewhat of blood? Thou hast Christ's.'

And these are the concluding words, confident, and beautiful[1]:—

De Spect. c. 30.

'To behold a spectacle such as this, [the final establishment of the kingdom of God,] to glory over triumphs

[1] Tert. *De Spect.* c. 30.

equal to these, what prætor, or consul, or priest, shall of his own bounty bestow upon thee? And yet we have them now in some sort present to us (*quodammodo per fidem repræsentata*), through faith in the imagination of the spirit. But what are those things, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man? *Greater joys, methinks, than the circus, greater than both the theatres, greater than any race-course.*'

Tertullian's adoption of Montanism.

It truly matters very little, as Neander has said, to fix the precise date when Tertullian became a Montanist. Born in Carthage, the son of a Pagan Proconsul, versed thus in the ways of the world from the very first, and such a world as God was enduring in North Africa at the close of the second century;—then becoming, probably not before complete manhood, overwhelmingly impressed by the solemn and lovely influence of Christianity, but retaining all the rugged strength of a harsh and angular natural character;—how could he fail of looking away from this 'naughty world,' and yearning towards a better, not indeed with wisdom always, nor always with due submission, *semper æger caloribus impatientiæ*[1], beating and chafing against his prison-bars, and longing for a present, an immediate, realisation of the supernatural? Yet, while we can with ease trace his line of aberration, it would be found a difficult though a worthy task, to emulate the intense and abiding earnestness with which he loved and pursued the narrow way.

Having alluded to his consciousness of a deficiency on the score of Christian patience, we may bring forward an instance of the beautiful mode in which he has conceived of this quality as being perfected in the incarnation of the Divine Logos[2].

'God *suffers* himself to be conceived in the womb of a

De Patientia. c. 3.

[1] *De Patient.* c. 1. [2] *De Patient.* c. 3.

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mother, and *abides* the time of being born: *endures* to grow up into youth: and being an adult *is not eager* to be known, but puts a *further slight*[1] upon himself, is baptized by his own servant, and repels the attacks of the tempter by words only. When from the "Lord" he became the "Master," teaching man to escape death, having well learned the forgiving spirit of offended patience, he strove not, he cried not .....a bruised reed he broke not, the smoking flax he quenched not.....he rejected none who wished to adhere to him: he despised no one's table or house. He poured out water to wash his disciples' feet. He despised not publicans and sinners. He was not wroth with the city which had refused to receive him, when even his disciples wished that fire from heaven should hastily descend on the insolent town. He healed the unthankful, and gave place to those who laid snares for him. This were but little, if he had not had even his betrayer with him, *without constantly pointing him out.* But when he was delivered up, when he was led as a sheep to the sacrifice, he opened not his mouth any more than a lamb under the hands of the shearer. He whom, if he had wished, at one word legions of angels would have attended from heaven, would not approve of a disciple's avenging sword. *The patience of the Lord was wounded in the person of Malchus*.....He who had proposed to hide himself in the form of a man, imitated nothing of man's impatience. Herein especially, ye Pharisees, ye ought to have recognised the Lord: such patience as this none of mere human kind could carry through. The greatness of these proofs of patience is for the nations a cause of refusing belief, but for us a reason and a building up of faith.'

[1] He heaps together words and expressions denoting the exercise of patience.

Some of his other works.

The passages which have been cited are in his best and noblest manner. Many more, of even a more striking though not a higher character, might be adduced from the *De Coronâ Militis*, the *Apologeticus*, and the *De Oratione*, the last two of which treatises will be again mentioned below, when we come to speak of Cyprian. But the design of this Essay in its present form admits of no more quotations at length; and we will only now add the pregnant words of a loving critic. 'Tertullian, though an enemy of philosophical speculation,...was not destitute of a speculative spirit: but it wanted the scientific *form*. *Feeling and imagination prevailed above the purely intellectual.* An inward life filled with Christianity outran the development of his understanding. A new inward world was opened to him by Christianity: feelings and ideas poured themselves into his living ardent soul, which he wanted adequate words to express. *The new superabundant spirit first formed his language.* The African Latin was, in this case especially, a foreign material, which was deficient in imagery. Hence the struggle between living feelings and conceptions, and a language which hampered and confined the living spirit[1].'

Neander's remarks.

[1] Neander, Introduction to the *Antignostikus*. Neander traces ample evidence of an early rhetorical training, and, perhaps, a forensic practice, in the writings of Tertullian, but does not see the smallest ground for identifying him with Tertyllianus or Tertullianus, a Roman jurist of whose writings some fragments are preserved in the Pandects.

For Lactantius's critique on Tertullian (omni genere literarum peritus, eloquendo parùm facilis, minùs comptus, multùm obscurus,) see *Div. Instit.* v. 1: where he also remarks on Minucius Felix, and Cyprian.

See, a little below, Gibbon's estimate of Tertullian.

CHAPTER VII.

The Philosophic and Mystic Period. (2) *Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius.*

Vellem igitur Ciceronem paulisper ab inferis surgere, ut vir eloquentissimus ab homunculo non diserto doceretur.

LACTANTIUS, *Div. Inst.* III. 13.

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Niebuhr's remarks on the latter half of the third century.

IN passing from the earlier to the later half of the third century, we may again turn with advantage to Niebuhr[1], who gives the most dismal account of the literary condition of the western world during the second of these two periods. After mentioning the terrible plague which began with the reign of Decius (249), and which seems to have been a repetition of the scourge which was brought from the banks of the Euphrates by the army of L. Verus, about eighty years before, he says that the countries between the Danube and Gaul were overrun by barbarians, and that talent and art had become extinct in the same degree as the world had become desolate. The manifest barbarity which now overspread the west, continued even down to the times of Constantine, and it affected all departments alike both of art and science. Nemesian's *Cynegetica*, and the *Eclogæ* of Calpurnius shew that poetry was nothing more than verse-making. These *Eclogæ*, which are more correctly divided between Calpurnius and Nemesian, are stigmatized by Professor Conington[2] as being compositions no less unreal than Virgil's own, and 'wanting that exquisite grace which

[1] Niebuhr, *Lectures on the Hist. of Rome*, III. 307.

[2] In his recent valuable instalment of the *Bibliotheca Classica* edition of Virgil. The critique alluded to is to be found in the Essay on *The Later Bucolic Poets of Rome*, which is inserted after the Tenth Eclogue.

makes us delight in the poem when we cannot recognise the genuine pastoral.'

On Arnobius.

Meantime, prose was at an equally low ebb. 'Arnobius,' says Niebuhr, 'the author of the work *Adversus Gentes*, is one of the earliest Christian writers in the Latin language. He is very interesting, and his learning is of considerable value to us: but there is nothing original about him.'

On Lactantius.

Of Lactantius, however, who reaches down to the very extreme limits of our present period or, rather, goes beyond it by one year[1], he gives a very different account. 'He adopted completely the style of Cicero, whom he reproduced in form, just as Curtius had reproduced Livy. He is a very important writer, even if we look at him apart from his character as a theological author[2]; but he is the only writer of that period deserving of mention: his seventh book shews real imagination.'

Decline of literature

Of the decline of literature mentioned above the Pagans charged the Christians with being the cause. And Cyprian, whose last writings belong to this period, that is to say, to the earliest years of it, makes no answer to the charge, as knowing very well that such an answer would have produced no effect. It may be perhaps suggested as not an improbable explanation of his silence, that the acquaintance and sympathy with literature which his profession as a rhetorician must have involved, caused him in fact to fall in with this opinion of the heathen cavillers; while, on the other hand, his affinities with Christianity led him to accept the fact with calmness if not with complacency, and to look beyond a transition state of intellectual degradation to a glorious future of spiritual regeneration. Be this as it may, his remarkable work against Demetrianus[3] openly

admitted by Cyprian.

[1] Christianity became the religion of the Empire in 324. Lactantius died, probably, in 325.

[2] See what Niebuhr says of Tertullian above, p. 81 of this Essay.

[3] Cypriani *Opera* (Caillau), pp. 431—449.

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admits the gradual spread of barbarism. From this work of Cyprian's we shall proceed to bring forward some specimens, first stating the probable dates of

Cyprian.

§ 1. CYPRIAN.

	A.D.
Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus, born in Africa[1], about	200
,, converted by Cæcilius, a presbyter.....	245
,, elected Bishop of Carthage	248 (?)
,, retreats under Decian Persecution	249 (?)
,, returns on Death of Decius.....	251
,, banished to Curabis[2].....	257
,, a martyr under Valerian	258

The Liber ad Demetrianum.

The *Liber ad Demetrianum* was called out by the assertions of the heathen generally, and of Demetrianus, a magistrate at Carthage, in particular, to the effect that the great pestilence then raging was caused by the impieties and crimes of the Christians. It is a very superior specimen of the apologetic writing among the early Christians. The following passage contains some of the admissions about barbarism, of which Niebuhr speaks, and also gives a fair notion of his method of handling the whole subject.

A passage on the advance of barbarism.

'You have said[3] that all the agitation and depression, now so prevalent throughout the world, comes of us Christians, and ought to be laid at our door, because we decline to worship your gods. Now, ignorant as you clearly are of heavenly knowledge, and a stranger to heavenly truth, you ought to be first made to understand this fact: namely, that the world has grown old, and no longer stands in the same strength that formerly it stood in, nor feels the sinews of that vigorous energy which formerly it felt. Even supposing that we (Christians) were wholly silent on this point, and had no evidence to produce from the Holy Scriptures and from communications with heaven, the world itself

[1] Probably at Carthage. [2] About 40 miles from Carthage.

[3] Cypriani *Opera* (Caillau), p. 433.

is speaking, and bearing witness of its decline in the marks of a general state of decay (*rerum labentium probatione*).

'In winter-time, we miss the wonted supply of rain for the fertilization of the seeds: in summer, the old violence of the sun that used to ripen our corn: we have none of the fertility (*sata læta*) of a bygone day in the happy season of spring; none of the old autumnal abundance in the produce of our fruit-trees. Our hills are wearied out with excavation, and refuse to furnish any more layers of marble; our mines are exhausted, and yield no more piles of gold or silver wealth; the meagre veins of metal grow shorter and less valuable day by day; there is no labourer in the field, no sailor on the sea, no soldier in the camp, no purity in public life, no equity in the courts of law, no sympathy in ties of friendship, in art no high culture, in morals no worthy tone[1].....

'Know, however, that all these things have been predicted: and know also that they happen, not as you ignorantly assume, because we worship not your gods, but because God is not worshipped by you. For, since He is the Lord and Ruler of the Universe, and all things obey His will, and nothing ever happens but by His hand or His permission, when such events occur as manifest His wrath, they occur not because of us who worship God, but because of your iniquities, who will not seek the Lord, nor fear Him; who will not desert your vain superstitions and acknowledge the true religion: so that God, who is the same God over all, may by all be alone worshipped and supplicated.'

[1] Having translated the passage down to this point, I conclude with the version of Dr Hook (*Eccl. Biog.* Cyprian), slightly altering some expressions.

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He afterwards proceeds to mention those cruelties with which the Christians were everywhere overwhelmed[1]:

The cruelties practised against the Christians.

'Nor are you satisfied with depriving us of life by a quick and simple process: you inflict the most cruel and lingering death, and are not content with torturing us except with some new invention, and by the exercise of a savage ingenuity. How insatiable your cruelty! Your vengeance how implacable!

'Christianity either is or is not a crime. If it is, why do you not at once execute the man who confesses his guilt? and, if not, why do you persecute the innocent? Again: allowing it to be a crime, those who are implicated in it, but obstinately withhold a confession of their guilt, are the proper objects of torture: but we confess, we proclaim our adherence to the Christian cause, and our contempt for your gods. Why then are we tortured, as if we suppressed our guilt? What is the meaning of this attempt upon the weakness of our bodies; the weakness of that which is but earthly in us? Rather enter the lists with our minds; try the strength of our reason; see if you can subvert our faith with argument; and if you must conquer, conquer by an appeal to our understandings.'

The Epist. ad Thib.

There is a stirring and noble passage in the Epistle to the Thiberitans[2], containing an exhortation in the prospect of martyrdom:—

Exhortation in prospect of martyrdom.

'Men are trained and exercised for victory in the secular games; and they account it no slight accession to their glory, if they receive the prize before a crowded assembly, in the presence of the Emperor. Behold, then, our sublime, our mighty contest! glorious as it

[1] Cypriani *Opera* (Caillau), p. 440.

[2] Cypriani *Opera* (Caillau), p. 189. The *Epist. ad Thiberitanos, de exhortatione martyrii,* is less vitiated by extravagant views of the value of martyrdom than the *Epistola ad Fortunatum* on the same subject. (Caillau, 522.)

is with the guerdon of a heavenly crown! Behold, God Himself, the witness of our struggle; and graciously looking upon those whom He condescends to call His children, Himself rejoicing in our victory! How great a joy to contend in the sight of God! to be crowned by the arbitration of Christ! Let us arm, beloved, let us arm for the fight with an entire use of our energies, with our mind unpolluted, a faith intact, and a devoted valour! Let those who are hitherto untouched take arms again, lest they lose the glory heretofore achieved. And let those who have fallen gird on their harness, that they may recover the glory heretofore lost. Let every man be summoned to the field: the faithful by their honour, by remorse the lapsed!'

Cyprian's flight.

About Cyprian's own flight from Carthage there can be little doubt, when we consider the special nature of the Decian persecution[1], that he acted with Christian prudence and a most worthy discrimination. Thascius Cyprian, who, when Galerius pronounced his doom, quietly thanked his God and said no more, was not the man to run from faint-heartedness: still less was he the man to exact a humiliating penance[2] from *Sacrificati* or *Libellatici*, had he been conscious of a similar infirmity within. The only pity is that, in deference to the outrageous views of some contemporaries on the subject, and perhaps in accordance with his own, he should ever have thought it necessary to give laborious explanations of his retirement, or seemed to vacillate in doing so. The 'Deus ut secederem jussit' of the ninth Epistle is perhaps, though by no means certainly, invalidated by the 'a Tertullo fratre ratio reddetur' of the fifth[3].

Cyprian and Tertullian.

Cyprian possessed the African temperament of character,

[1] See above, Chap. II. of this Essay.

[2] His judicious compromise in the controversy *De Lapsis*.

[3] Cypriani *Opera* (Caillau), pp. 31 and 50.

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and may perhaps be said to belong to the African school in style, if such a school there is to be[1]. The words 'Da magistrum' which he used to apply when asking for a volume of Tertullian, have become inseparable from our conception of Cyprian, and do in fact point to much that it is useful to notice in his remains. He falls behind his forerunner in energy and pregnant conciseness[2], but is much his superior in fluency and clearness. Of his treatises, the *De Vanitate Idolorum*, *De Patientiâ*, *De Zelo et Livore*, *De Eleemosynis*, *De Habitu Virginum*, *De Exhortatione Martyrii* (both that addressed to the Thiberitans, and that to Fortunatus,) *De Calamitatibus*, *De Mortalitate*, *De Oratione Dominicâ*, may be regarded more or less in the light of duplicates on Tertullianic subjects. Neander[3] thinks that, in order to see what use he makes of Tertullian, we should compare more especially the *De Oratione* and *De Patientiâ* in both authors, and the *De Vanitate Idolorum* with the *Apologeticus*.

Ancient opinions concerning Cyprian.

We shall have occasion to mention Cyprian hereafter in connexion with Augustine's view of his style. Prudentius and Jerome (*Epist. ad Paulin.*) are decided panegyrists of his. We will conclude with the words of Lactantius[4]:—

> 'His style was easy, rich, agreeable, and—a thing which for sermon-writing is an especial excellence—it was clear. And you would be hard put to in determining to which of his gifts you should award the palm—his florid and elaborate diction, his happy exegesis, or the art he had of powerful persuasion.'

Arnobius.

§ 2. Arnobius.

	A.D.
Arnobius Afer born at Sicca, about	270
,, wrote his *Adversus Gentes*	304 ?[5]
,, died	[uncertain]

[1] See above, p. 81 of this Essay.

[2] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, II. 247.

[3] Neander, *Ch. Hist.* II. 446 n.

[4] Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* v. 1, *sub fin.*

[5] The chronology of Arnobius is very doubtful; but Jerome's asser-

We have already seen (p. 89) what Niebuhr says of this Church Father. His book *Adversus Gentes*[1] was written by him on the prompting of some inward impulse, which led him first to seek baptism, and then (probably) to compose this Apology in order to convince the doubting bishop of his fitness.

The book Adversus Gentes.

Voss[2], in consideration no doubt of his learning, and the importance which his book possesses in an antiquarian point of view, calls him the 'Varro' of the Fathers.

The 'Varro' of the Fathers.

He himself[3] thus speaks of the change which had been wrought in him by Christianity:

> 'O blindness! But a short time ago I worshipped the images which had just come from the furnace of the smith; gods that had been shaped by the anvil and the hammer. When I saw a smooth worn stone, besmeared with oil, I addressed it as if a living power were there, and prayed to the senseless stone for benefits to myself, thus doing foul dishonour even to the gods, whom I esteemed as such, when I supposed them to be wood, stone, or bones, or imagined that they dwelt in such things. Now that I have been led by so great a Teacher in the way of truth, I know what all that is[4].'

His own remarks on his conversion.

It is, perhaps, not going too far to say that we may learn at least so much as this from the above passage: namely, that Arnobius had been a simple-minded, honest,

His character.

tion (*De V. Illust.* 79), that his book was written in the 20th year of Constantine, is plainly an anachronism. Arnobius himself (*Adv. Gent.* I. 13) says, 'Three hundred years, more or less, have nearly passed away, since the foundation of our religion.' And again (*Id.* II. 71), 'It is now 1050 years, or not much less, since the building of Rome.' It was, in reality, seven or eight years *more*, for his first volume contains allusions to the persecution of Diocletian, which began in 303. There is nothing harsh in assuming an inaccuracy on his part to this extent. See Neander, *Ch. Hist.* II. 451.

[1] There was also a *De Institutione Rhetoricâ*, now lost.

[2] *Biogr. Univ.* s. v. Arnobius.

[3] *Advers. Gent.* I. 39.

[4] Translated in Neander, *Ch. H.* II. 450.

CHAP. VII.

and pains-taking idolater, and had offered real prayers to the gods for real benefits. Such a person was especially likely to pursue the ardent and supererogatory course which he did with regard to obtaining his baptism.

We now proceed at once to Lactantius, having only mentioned Arnobius as one more member of the possible African School, as having attracted the notice of Niebuhr and won a title from Voss, and as having been (according to Jerome) the instructor of Lactantius.

Lactantius.

§ 3. LACTANTIUS.

	A.D.
L. Cæl. (or Cæcil. Firmianus) Lactantius born	?
,, began to teach rhetoric at Nicomedia	300?
,, died probably about.....	325

The seventh Book of the Institutions *is the representative passage.*

As Lactantius has been already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, and the opinion of Niebuhr has been there quoted, according to which the seventh Book is the representative part of the *Institutions* as the *Institutions* themselves manifestly must represent Lactantius, we shall do nothing more here, in the brief remaining space, than give a Summary of the Book in question (7), and translate some specimens from it.

Summary of its contents.

The seventh Book[1] of the *Divinæ Institutiones* treats of the future rewards of righteousness, the immortality of the soul, and the end of the world. The end of the present order of things is here fixed at six thousand years after the Creation: and the troubles of the latter days, together with the final triumph of Messiah over Antichrist, are described in accordance with the writer's views of the prophecies of Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Apocalypse: but without mentioning any of those books, and with great latitude of interpretation.

The author, then, in the next place, gives a description, mostly fanciful, of the proceedings of the Day of Judgment,

[1] This summary is principally taken from Riddle, *Christian Antiquities*, p. 110.

and of the mode in which separation will be made between the righteous soul and the wicked professor of religion. Now, Lactantius was infected with *Chiliasm*, that common form of exaggerated belief in the early times, through which it was so natural that crushed ambition or oppressed poetical feeling should find a vent, in the contemplation, however fictitious, of a golden future in the distance. Accordingly, we find him next discoursing upon the Millennium; the subsequent rebellion of Satan and his hosts, followed by a peace so profound, that no tree will be cut down for the space of seven years, because the weapons of war, no longer needed, will serve for firewood; the final exaltation of the righteous; the second resurrection of the wicked; and their doom to everlasting torments. Tertullian confidently fixes the beginning of the Millennium at the expiration of 200 years from the date of his writing, which would have been the 6000th year of the world, according to the then current chronology.

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Chiliasm.

Such, says Lactantius, in conclusion, is the doctrine of the holy prophets which we Christians receive; he then eulogizes the Emperor Constantine, to whom he had dedicated his work[1]: and earnestly calls upon the heathen to embrace Christianity.

We now proceed to translate c. VIII. of this extraordinary seventh book. It is entitled *De Immortalitate Animæ*:—

Translation of the Institutions, VII. 8. De Immortalitate Animæ.

'The one highest good, then, is Immortality, to a capacity for which we have been formed from eternity, and were brought into the world with a view to it. To this we bend our course, to this is directed the aim of man's nature, to this virtue bears us on. We

[1] See some useful remarks on the *Institutions*, in Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, IV. 311 ff. He believes the whole work to have been written before the Diocletian persecution, and dedicated to Constantine on its publication many years later.

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have thus apprehended it as a blessing; one more task then awaits us;—namely, to remark on Immortality itself.

Plato's arguments are deficient in strength and weight.

'The arguments of Plato[1], although contributing much to the subject-matter, have but little strength and weight in proving the truth and filling up what is wanting to it: since he had not reckoned up and collected into one term the whole of this great mystery; nor had he grasped its character as the greatest blessing. For, though we grant that his ideas of the immortality of the soul were true, yet what he says of it is not said as if it were the highest good. Now *we* can elicit the truth by more trustworthy signs, as not gathering it from flickering suspicion; but knowing it for a fact through divine revelation (*divinâ traditione*). Plato, on his part, argued thus:—"Whatever is independently conscious, as well as independently endowed with perpetual motion, is immortal; because that which has no beginning of motion will have no end, inasmuch as it cannot be deserted by its own proper essence (*semetipso*)." But this argument would give immortality to dumb animals as well as to men, unless he had made a distinction by throwing *intelligence* into the scale.

'Accordingly, in order to escape such a community with animals, he added that the soul of man must be of necessity immortal; since its wonderful cleverness in invention, quickness in imagination (*cogitandi*), facility in perception and receiving instruction, recollection of the past, foresight into the future, and expertness in arts that often seem innumerable, (all which qualities other beings are destitute of,) have the evident ap-

[1] In the *Phædo,* the *Meno,* the *Republic,* and the *Laws.*

pearance of being divine and heavenly. Besides all which, the origin of this soul, whose capacity for reception and retention is so great, is found nowhere on earth, having no admixture of the concrete and the earthy. Whatever then is weighty and dissoluble in man, must necessarily become earth again: while that which is rare and subtile cannot be divided, but, set free from the habitation of the body as from a dungeon, takes its flight to heaven, and to its proper nature there[1]. Such is a brief and general abstract of Plato's arguments, which in his own works are unfolded widely and fully.

Pythagoras and Pherecydes.

'Of a like opinion was Pythagoras also, who lived before Plato's time; and Pherecydes, the præceptor of Pythagoras, whom Cicero records[2] as the first man who disputed on the eternity of spirits. These, we grant, excelled their opponents in eloquence. Yet those who wrote against the opinion, Dicæarchus, Democritus, and lastly Epicurus, had, on this controversy at least, no less authority; so much so that the subject on which they contended came to be classed as a doubtful point. Finally, even Tullius,.... has distinctly said that he cannot tell which opinion contains the truth. His words are, "Which of these doctrines is the true one, let some god decide[3]."...

Dicæarchus, Democritus, and Epicurus.

'*We* have no need of divination. To us Divinity itself has laid bare the truth.'

It is hard to believe, on reading this quiet and rational examination of the great writers of antiquity, that the critic was at other times capable of abandoning himself to the

[1] Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst.* I. 48, 49.

[2] Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst.* I. 16. 'Pherecydes Syrus primum dixit, animos hominum esse sempiternos: antiquus sanè: fuit enim meo regnante gentili.....Hanc opinionem discipulus ejus Pythagoras maximè confirmavit.'

[3] Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst.* I. 11. 'Harum sententiarum,' etc.

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Lactantius has a far more fanciful vein.

wildest fancies in the interpretation of Scripture. The following extract is one of the most subdued among his oratorical passages; but it serves well to shew on how slight a foundation in analogy he could build so illogical a superstructure of fancied prediction[1]:—

A 'chiliastic' passage in Div. Instit. VII. 14.

'As in six days the whole sum of God's works was perfected, it is through six ages, that is 6000 years, that this world *must of necessity* abide in its present state. For the great day of God is terminated in a cycle of one thousand years, *as is shewn by the Prophet*, who says, "*In thy eyes, O Lord, a thousand years are as one day.*" And as through those six days God laboured in the working out such mighty things, even so in these 6000 years must Religion and Truth labour, while vice prevails and has the upper hand[2]. And again as, after the completion of His works, He rested on the seventh day, and blest it, so at the end of the 6000th year, must all vice be blotted out from the earth, and Justice must reign for 1000 years, and there must be tranquillity and repose after those labours which the world has endured so long....We have often remarked how small matters may be the images of great ones, small specimen-models of them; and so, this day of ours, bounded by the rising and setting of the sun, has the features of the great day, whose boundary is the circuit of 1000 years[3].'

It is as Niebuhr has said, the imagination is finely and clearly worked out; while, on a careful study, even the

[1] Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* VII. 14. The argument from 'necessity' is certainly somewhat premature.

[2] It would appear that the still-resistent though ever-decreasing opposition of matter to the Divine Demiurge, during the six days of Creation, was, in the intention of Lactantius, that point in the first limb of the analogy which was responded to by this repugnance of 'vice' in the second.

[3] He goes on to infer the future organization of the 'Heavenly People,' from the form and fashion of the individual man.

wildest parts are full of suggestiveness. And there have been quite as illogical theorizers in days when there was less extenuation for a want of elementary correctness in argument.

Lactantius the 'Cicero' of the Fathers according to Voss.

Voss, who styled Arnobius the 'Christian Varro,' gave to Lactantius the name of the 'Christian Cicero.' And we have seen above that Niebuhr considered him to have done in the case of Cicero, what Curtius did with Livy. The result has been, at least in the *Institutions*, a clearness and elegance of style far beyond what was attained by any other Christian writer of the ante-Nicene age, and, speaking generally, beyond Augustine as well.

Minor Treatises.

His two treatises, *De Ira Dei*, a series of arguments against the position that God is incapable of wrath or hatred, based on the principle that a love of good implies its opposite, and *De Opificio Dei*, a kind of Natural Theology, inferring the divine wisdom and providence from the construction of the human frame, fall considerably below the best parts of the *Institutions*, both in conception and style.

The *De Mortibus Persecutorum* is valuable for the historical matter it contains, but is not certainly attributable to Lactantius[1].

[1] See, a little below, Gibbon's estimate of Lactantius.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Oratorical Period. (1) *Athanasius, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, Gregory of Nyssa, Hilary of Poictiers, Jerome, Paulinus.*

Τί γάρ; πλὴν παντὶ τρόπῳ....Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται.
ST PAUL.

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Athanasius.

§ 1. ATHANASIUS.

		A.D.
Athanasius,	born at Alexandria, probably	296
,,	attended Archbishop Alexander to Nice	325
,,	elected Archbishop	326
,,	Synod of Tyre. *First* exile (to France)	335
,,	Arian Synod of Antioch[1]. *Second* exile (to Italy)	341
,,	Triumphant return, partly by warlike preparations of Constans	349
,,	Death of Constans	350
,,	Synod of Milan. *Third* exile (to deserts of Egypt). Lowest ebb of Athanasius' affairs	355 356
,,	Return on the Death of Constantius	362
	[after which, with the exception of two short interruptions, under Julian and Valens, called sometimes his *Fourth* and *Fifth* persecutions, he enjoyed his see in peace, until]	
,,	His death at Alexandria	373

The leading mind of the first half of the fourth century.

ATHANASIUS was the informing practical mind of the first half of the fourth century. But for him, Ambrose would have wanted something of that vigorous and determined energy which was his great characteristic, and which was materially assisted, if it was not altogether supported, by an intense dogmatic conviction. We might

[1] Acting under the direct influence of Constantius. The *Synod of Sardica*, in Thrace, affirmed his doctrines six years later, while Constans was still alive to counteract in some measure the hostility of Constantius.

expect therefore to find what is, in fact, the case; that, for the most part, the writings of this great Church Father are models, not of oratorical skill, but of polemical disquisition. And, even on this score, the merit of acuteness, of a subtlety which is sometimes truly wonderful, constitutes his almost single claim to intellectual distinction. There is, as Milman has pointed out[1], no dispassionate examination, no candid philosophical inquiry. There are, on the contrary, many of the very gravest faults which have marred in later days much of the divinity that belongs to the Reformation period, and much that disfigures our own. There is no acknowledgment of the infinite perplexities of the subject, no admission that language may perchance be inadequate to the task of unravelling them: above all, no calm and fair statement of the adversaries case, perhaps resulting from an inability to comprehend it[2]. And thus it is that we discover, without any surprise, the barrenness of his style in splendour and in tenderness alike, his failure to touch the heart, or his neglect of the attempt. We are bound to believe, and the brave and noble life of the Archbishop renders the task comparatively easy, that the vital power and energy, the truth, and the consolatory force of Christianity, were in his mind firmly and inseparably bound up with the exaltation of the Saviour to the absolute and uncompromising position of Equality.

His writings are polemical rather than oratorical.

Bearing all this in mind, we can read with no small degree of pleasure the peremptory and dictatorial passages, full of an imperious sort of logic, with which his *Four Orations against the Arians* abound.

'It lies upon our adversaries,' he says in one place[3], 'to shew, that the Son is not the Son, but a creature made

Orations against the Arians.

[1] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, III. 38.

[2] Or, more strictly speaking, to sympathize with it. Few points were too subtle for the mere *understanding* of Athanasius.

[3] Athanasius, *Orat. c. Arian.* I. § 14.

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of nothing; and, when they have done this, we will allow them to talk as much as they please about his not *being* before he began to be; for it is most certainly true, that all created beings once were not. But then if it be true, as God the Father declares of him, and the Holy Scriptures clearly and freely assure us, that he is the Son; and if the essence and substance of the Son flows from the Essence and Substance of the Father; and, if that which flows from and is of the Essence of the Father be His Word, His Wisdom, and the brightness of His glory;—what shall we call the assertion of these men.... but an attempt and enterprize to rob God of His Son, to make it be believed that heretofore, however long since, He was destitute of His own Light and Word and Wisdom, a Light that did not always shed forth emanations of splendour, a Fountain that formerly sent out no streams?'

i. § 14.

An analysis of this single passage will bring out all the really salient points of the genius of Athanasius. The manner in which his nature imperatively demanded, for itself and for the world, an exactly defined object of worship, may be illustrated no less clearly, though from another point of view, by an examination of his *Oration against the Gentiles*[1].

Oration against the Gentiles.

'And who is the Creator?' he asks[2]; 'For it is necessary *that we should be fully determined upon this question*, before we proceed further. For if we know not who this Creator is, we may mistake another for him.... And who is this God, but the most holy and infinitely perfect Father of Christ, who as an all-wise and mighty

§ 40.

[1] If it has not been already drawn by some Patristic scholar, I can imagine few more suggestive parallels than that which would be gained by a comparative analysis of Clement's *Hortatory Address*, and this *Oration* of Athanasius.

[2] Athanasius, *Orat. c. Gent.* § 40.

potentate and ruler prescribes such laws and measures as he thinks fit for his creatures, and puts them in execution by *His essential Word and Wisdom* Jesus Christ?' CHAP. VIII.

There is a very striking and really eloquent description, contained in this Oration, of the different gradations through which the soul has fallen from the worship of her great Father and Author to the very lowest depths of idolatrous sensualism[1].

'Upon the soul's revolt and flight from the only author of her being, and true fountain of her happiness, she plunged every day deeper and deeper, and fell through an ocean of vain and sophistical consequences and determinations. The first of the creature-rivals, that were set in the Throne of God by the rebellious imagination of man, were the Sun, the Moon, and other luminaries of heaven....The deifiers of these went on, and, from adoring the superior bodies, soon stooped to the inferior. And now another set of imaginary deities came into play....Their allegiance was let down to the Air, and to all the Meteoric phænomena of the atmosphere. This reign had not lasted long, before they grew impatient for a new election: and so the elements, and constituent principles and particles of the grosser bodies, the Hot and the Cold, the Dry and the Moist, were voted into a partnership of Divinity. And now being got as low as dirt and mud, these bemired souls moved and crawled in the filth, like cockles or muscles in the ooze or purging of the water....They made gods of one another, and of the pictures and images of dead men...and made over the incommunicable style and title to trunks of trees and § 9.

[1] Athanasius, *Orat. c. Gent.* § 9. These translations are chiefly taken from an old and careful Oxford version.

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lumps of stones, to all the reptiles and vermin of water and earth, and to the fierce and ravenous beasts of the field.'

§ 1.

The dignified and truthful words which open this Oration[1] are well worth transcribing, and deserve a place in any account of the genius of Athanasius.

'He who confines his desire of knowledge to the principles of pure Religion and solid Reason, has no occasion to make the tour of human learning, and spend his life in libraries. This is a science, which obtrudes herself upon him, and will make him understand her, whether he will or not. The Theatre of the Universe is her school, the several classes of creatures so many subjects of speculation and proofs of her positions, and the Word of God her volume or system of infallible authorities and divine institutions.'

The discovery of the Festal Letters *of Athanasius.*

We must not pass on to St Ambrose, without first adducing one more truly noble passage from Athanasius. It occurs in the far-famed *Festal Letters* which have attracted so much attention of late years, not only on account of their great philological and chronological value, but from the romantic circumstances of their preservation and their acquisition by the British Museum[2]. The convent of St Mary Deipara in the valley of the Natron Lakes was their hiding-place: and the names of Dr Tattam and Mr Cureton are inseparably associated with their happy recovery. The theme of the following extract is one which must indeed have been often present to the heart of Athanasius; it is, that 'temporal ills are no just cause of trouble[3].'

[1] Athanasius, *Orat. c. Gent.* § 1.

[2] *The Edinburgh Review* of April, 1857, contains a complete and deeply interesting account of the whole transactions connected with the *Festal Letters*. The extract in the text is taken from the translation in the *Library of the Fathers*, by the Rev. H. G. Williams.

[3] *Festal Letters* of S. Athanasius. Letter X. [A.D. 338]. *Library of the Fathers*, XXXVIII. 75.

'Oh! my dearly beloved, if we shall gain comfort from afflictions; if rest from labours: if health after sickness: if after death there is immortality; it does not become us to be much distressed by the temporal ills that afflict mankind. It is not right to be greatly moved by the trials that befal us. It is not right to fear if the host that contended with Christ, should conspire against godliness; but we should the more please God through these things, and should consider such matters as the probation and exercise of a virtuous life. For how shall patience be looked for, if there have not previously been labours and sorrows? Or how can experience be afforded of fortitude, when there has not been first an assault from enemies? or how can a spectacle of [magnanimity][1] be exhibited, when contumely and injustice have not preceded? Or how can long-suffering be expected, when opposition on the part of Antichrists has not first existed? And, finally, how can a man hope to witness virtue, when the iniquity of the very wicked has not previously displayed itself? Thus even our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ comes before us [as an example], when he would shew men how to suffer.....that we might behold in Him the image of all that is virtuous and immortal; and all of us, conducting ourselves after these examples, might truly tread on serpents and scorpions, and on all the power of the enemy[2].'

Origin of Festal or Paschal Letters.

One word in conclusion, on the origin of Festal or Paschal Letters[3]. Among the most important matters discussed at Nice, was the question respecting the day on

[1] Cf. *Festal Letters*, p. 75, note *m*.

[2] The Oxford editor has pointed out a strong similarity between this passage and one in the *De Passione et Cruce Domini*, p. 73, § 19. There is a frequent recurrence of such parallels not only with places in the *De Pass. et Cruce*, but in the *De Incarn.* as well.

[3] See Mr. Cureton's account, quoted in the *Edinb. Rev.* April, 1857.

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which Easter was to be celebrated. And, when the celebration had been settled for the first Lord's Day after the Jewish Passover, the duty of determining *accurately*, and for the whole of Christendom, the day on which Easter was to be observed, became delegated to the Patriarch of Alexandria. Immediately, therefore, after the festival of Epiphany, the Patriarch sent to all the towns and monasteries within his jurisdiction, a notification of the day on which they were to commence the Fast of Lent, as well as of that on which they were to keep the Feast of Easter. And these notices were the origin of Festal Letters. We learn from Synesius, that the bearers of such letters were well received in all the places to which they came, supplied with everything they needed, and furnished with fresh beasts to continue their journey[1].

It is no wonder that, when circumstances permitted him any leisure for the performance, Athanasius should have found his heart often stirred within him on the transmission of annual circulars so widely spread abroad.

§ 2. Ambrose.

Ambrose.

		A.D.
Ambrosius,	son of a Prætorian Prefect, born at Trèves.....	340
,,	made Consular of Liguria and Æmilia,[2] about	365
,,	consecrated Bishop, 8 days after Baptism	374
,,	Opposition to the Empress Justina begins	379
,,	serves her by deterring Maximus from Italy ...	383
,,	disputes about the Pordian Basilica	384
,,	Theodosius's penance for Thessalonican massacre	390
,,	death	397

The nature of his eloquence.

The eloquence of Ambrose is most emphatically the expression of his character. Dean Milman has called him the spiritual ancestor of the Hildebrands and the Innocents.

[1] The *Festal Letters*, fragmentary or complete, are forty-five in number, and are traced to the middle of the fourth century, 326—370.

[2] Of which province Milan was the capital.

In the first chapters of his *De Officiis*[1], he has himself maintained the proposition that 'The fit office of a Bishop is to instruct the people.' To this primary function, however, he added in his own case, and added successfully, that of a spiritual dictatorship over the supreme magistrate, by the exercise of which he confronted the throne not only with an equal authority, but with that which, in its very essence, claimed to be infinitely superior. And thus we find his eloquence, wanting indeed in the richness, imaginative variety, and dramatic power of the Grecian orator; but hard and vigorous, (to employ again the words of Milman[2],) truly and essentially Roman, forensic, and practical. CHAP. VIII.

The mystic side of his theological character.

He had indeed another side to his theological character, and the proofs are to be found abundantly supplied in the *Hexaemeron*. A mystic subtlety of exegesis, far more akin to what we meet with in the Homilies of Ephrem, than to the vigorous sense of Ambrose when employed upon affairs of business, or dealing with men in general,—a propensity to treat the Scriptures as one vast allegory, and to pursue to their latest and most fanciful terminations recondite analogies and significations of isolated words,—these are characteristics, of which the instances are widely scattered over his theological works[3].

Symmachus.

But, though it requires mention, this aspect of his character demands, here at least, no more than mention, where we are obviously engaged only with the oratorical, the public Ambrose. It will be more satisfactory to our purpose, and more suitable to the limits of an Essay, that we should contemplate the position and the language of Ambrose in the famous contest with Symmachus[4]. This was indeed a struggle of transcendent interest; so much more

[1] A work which his foolish panegyrists have ventured to mention with that of Cicero.

[2] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, III. 241.

[3] See the note in Milman, III. 251.

[4] Gibbon, V. 96. Milman, III. 168. Villemain (*Tableau de l'éloquence au 4me siécle*) p. 527.

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than a mere logomachy, so clearly a final trial of strength by proxy between expiring Polytheism and advancing Christianity. On one side was Symmachus, a wealthy, noble, and eloquent senator, who united the sacred character of pontiff and augur, with the civil dignities of proconsul of Africa, and prefect of the city. To these advantages of position he added all the respect and attachment which attend the person of an upright and uncorrupt magistrate. He deprecated the increasing burdens of unnecessary taxes: and, in the elections to public offices, he dared to uphold merit alone as the proper test, against the eager solicitations of interest. On the other side was Ambrose, able, confident; with the full tide of popular feeling on religious matters in his favour, and the fervid and careless energy of a man, who has *not* to obviate objections, not to reconcile difficulties, but whose easy and only business it is to inflame existing zeal, and to quicken present scorn.

The attitude of Ambrose towards him.

The point of contention between them.

The ostensible point of contention was the altar of Victory, which had adorned the Hall or Temple in which the Senate met, and which was surmounted by a statue[1], representing a majestic female standing on a globe, with flowing garments and expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her outstretched hand. The fortunes of this altar had been uncertain in no common degree. Under Constantine it had been suffered to remain: it had been removed by order of his son Constantius; Julian re-established it: Valentinian respected it, in spite of his zeal for the Church, a sentiment which in his breast competed for the first place with the thirst for glory: and Gratian, his successor, amongst the severities which he employed towards the Pagan worship, the emoluments and privileges of which he suppressed, once more destroyed this altar, which shocked the eyes of the Christian minority in the Senate. The greater part of the assembly, with Symmachus as their

The Altar of Victory.

[1] Gibbon quotes Montfaucon's *Antiquities*, I. 341.

mouth-piece, applied to the Emperor for its restoration: the Christians, however, had been beforehand in laying their protestations before the throne, and Symmachus was not even heard. At length, in the year 383, Gratian was murdered, and Symmachus appealed to the justice, the sympathies, and the fears of the young and feeble Valentinian.

Heyne's critique on the two combatants.

Heyne[1] has expressed himself strongly in favour of the superior merit of Symmachus, as an eloquent writer, over Ambrose; applying no less invidious terms than *verbosam* and *inanem* to the productions of the latter. This would not be the general opinion upon a comparison of the two writers. Not but that the palm of grace and dignity is fairly due to the Pagan. He has also on his side that indulgent sympathy which we involuntarily feel towards the weaker combatant. But we must remember that, had not proper feeling at the time rendered close argument superfluous, the Christian orator might easily have done much to repel the sarcasm implied in the word *inanem*. Symmachus, in his appeal, had boldly and effectively introduced a personification of Rome pleading sorrowfully to the Senate:—

Symmach. Epist. x. 61. *The personification of Rome.*

'Most excellent Princes, Fathers of our country, respect my years, and permit me still to practise the religion of my ancestors, in which I have grown old. Grant me but the liberty of living according to my ancient usage of freedom. This religion has subdued the world to my dominion; these rites repelled Hannibal from my walls, the Gauls from the Capitol. Have I lived thus long to be rebuked in my old age for my religion? It is too late: it would be discreditable to amend in my old age. I entreat but peace for the gods of Rome, the tutelary gods of our country[2].

[1] Quoted by Milman, III. 169.
[2] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, III. 170.

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To this Ambrose replies, with the disadvantage indeed of an imitative retort, but vigorously and well:

Ambros. Epist. I. 18. [*t.* III. 973 *ed. Ben.*] *The retort.*

'This is not what Rome had bid you declare; she speaks in far other language: "Wherefore," she says, "do you stain me daily with the barren sacrifice of so many herds? It is not in the fibres of the quivering victims, but in the valour of the warriors that victory is found.....it was with arms in his hand that Camillus swept away the Gallic standards from the Capitol, and hurled them back to the slain violaters of the Tarpeian Rock. Courage vanquished those whom the gods had failed to repulse.....Why meet me with the example of our ancestors? *I hate the religion of Nero.* I repent me of my past errors; I blush not, even in age, to change when the whole world changes. It is never too late to learn. There is nothing shameful in changing to a side which is better than the former. This was the one point which I had in common with the barbarous nations; I knew not God. Your sacrifices go no further than the mere shedding of the blood of beasts. Do you look for the voice of God in the entrails of victims? Come, and enter on earth a heavenly army; it is in this that we live, that we combat. Let me learn the mysteries of heaven by the witness of the God who created it, and not by that of man, who does not know himself. Whom shall I trust to tell me of God, sooner than God himself? How can I trust you, you who confess you know not what you worship[1]?"'

The real position of Ambrose.

We must weigh this vigorous apologetic language with a reference to the ideas of the fourth century, not of the nineteenth; and very little surprise will be caused by learning that the populace of Milan was enthusiastically on

[1] Symmach. *Ep.* x. 61. Ambros. *Ep.* I. 18. [t. III. 973, ed. Ben.]

the side of Ambrose. But Ambrose himself was only the exponent of a mightier power, which had already seized not only Milan but the Roman world. The passage just quoted well expresses the true principle of human progress as bound up with the cause of Christianity.

One more extract from Ambrose shall be adduced, which forms part of his remonstrance with the usurper Maximus, who, after the murder of Gratian, refused the body to the pious and pressing entreaties of his brother Valentinian[1]:

Ambros. Epist. Remonstrance with the usurper Maximus. 1. 24.

'Valentinian,' he says, 'has sent you back your brother alive; return him at least the lifeless remains of his. You fear lest the return of his mortal spoils should rekindle the anger of the soldiers. This, at least, is your pretext. But ah! those who abandoned him while he was alive, will they defend him now he is dead? How can you fear him in his tomb, now that you have killed him, though you might have saved him? I have but slain my enemy, you say: no, he was not your enemy; it was only you who were his. It is, surely, the usurper who begins the war; the emperor defends his rights. Can you then refuse to give up the remains of him whom you ought not to have caused to perish? Let Valentinian at least obtain the ashes of his brother as a pledge of peace. How can you maintain that you did not order the murder of Gratian, when you forbid his burial? Can any believe that you did not grudge life to one, to whom you grudge even his tomb?'

Ambrose and Theodosius.

We need make no more than a passing allusion to the sublime conduct of Ambrose in the humbling of Theodosius, when, as Gibbon has remarked[2], he adopted most

[1] Ambros. *Ep.* I. 24 [III. 1036, ed. Ben.]

[2] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, v. 70. The quotation just below is from v. 69 n.

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truly the tone and language of an ambassador of Heaven: 'You have imitated David in his guilt: imitate him in his repentance,' may be accepted as the symbol of this prelate's real power. It was moral, far more than intellectual.

Gibbon on Ambrose.

Gibbon would probably have subscribed in full to the depreciatory verdict of Heyne, which has been already quoted[1]. His words are these: 'Ambrose could act better than he could write. His compositions are destitute of taste or genius; without the spirit of Tertullian, the copious elegance of Lactantius, the lively wit of Jerome, or the grave energy of Augustine.'

Niebuhr.

It is satisfactory to find that Niebuhr, without the severity of either Gibbon or Heyne, has allotted to Ambrose precisely the kind of importance indicated at the beginning of this notice. 'Of Lactantius,' he says, 'I have already spoken; he is very important; *others, such as St Ambrose, are less so as authors*[2].''

3. Basil and the Gregories[3].

		A.D.
Basil.	Basilius born at Cæsarea in Cappadocia	326
	,, having studied at Antioch, Constantinople, and Athens, where he met Gregory, he returns home	355
	,, Tour of monastic inspection in Egypt, Syria, and Libya, and an Order founded by him in Pontus.	356 (357)
	,, succeeds Eusebius in See of Cæsarea..... ..	370
	,, Interview with Valens (Modestus preceding)	371
	,, dies on January 1	379
Gregory Naz.	Gregorius Nazianzenus, born at Arianza[4] about	326

[1] See above, p. 111.

[2] Niebuhr, *Lectures on Roman History* (ed. Schmitz), III. 338. For his words on Lactantius, see above, p. 89.

[3] In passing to these Church Fathers, we necessarily omit, for want of space, any notice of the celebrity of Ambrose as a prime mover in Church music, especially in antiphonal chanting. Compare *Aug. Conf.* IX. 7, 2 and X. 33, 3, quoted by Milman (III. 523). Socrates (VI. 8) informs us that the antiphonal system was revealed to Ignatius in a vision, in which he heard the angels thus praising the Trinity. The masculine Cantus Ambrosianus is said by Milman to survive in the Church of Milan. Hilary of Poitiers was also a Church musician, (see p. 127).

[4] In Cappadocia, during his father's episcopate at Nazianzum; to the admission of which date Milman states that even Tillemont gives his reluctant consent.

		A.D.	
„	appointed Bishop of Sasima by Basil[1]	272	
	Archbishop of Constantinople	379	
„	resigns the see	381	
„	dies	389	
Gregorius Nyssenus[2]	born at Cæsarea, about	331	*Gregory Nyss.*
„	Banished by Valens. Recalled by Gratian	375—378	
„	took active part in Constant. Concil. I. and II.	381—394	
„	dies about	396	

Their chief characteristics.

Unlike[3] Athanasius, still more unlike the Apostles, these three Church-Fathers present us with specimens of conscious orators, who dressed their ideas in the most elaborate clothing which the language of Greece could afford. We now begin to find an eloquence, less apologetic; less employed in rousing the soul of the hearer to a necessary courage, a constant and practical self-control; and lastly, less controversial. The intense moral earnestness lives again in Chrysostom and Augustine; but in Basil and Gregory Nazianzen its place is very largely supplied by consolatory, epitaphian, and generally sentimental strains of oratory. A more intellectual[4], but still somewhat imaginative Orientalism animates the writings of Basil: in a less degree, those of Gregory Nazianzen: in a less, those of Gregory of Nyssa. This brief verdict on the three comes from the pen, and is quite in the pointed manner, of the Dean of St Paul's. We find in another place that he regards Basil more especially as a 'purist' among the Church Fathers of this period, observing that his style did no discredit to his Attic education, but rather placed him, for taste and for simplicity, not only above the other Christian Sophists, but above the heathen writers

[1] In apparent violation of their friendship. See Gibbon, v. 18; who illustrates Gregory's complaint in the Poem *De Vitâ Suâ* (*Opera*, II. 8) by Helena's speech in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

[2] Brother of St Basil.

[3] In the remaining portion of this chapter there is a frequent reference to M. Villemain's *Tableau de l'Eloquence*.

[4] Milman, III. 187. More intellectual, that is, than the effusions of Ephrem.

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of his age. We shall see reason below for not subscribing very heartily to the praise given on the score of simplicity.

Basil and Gregory on Julian.

Basil and Gregory Nazianzen were fellow-students[1] with the Emperor Julian, but they carefully avoided his influence in later years. The death of Julian called forth the eloquence of both. Gregory speaks with considerable acrimony and invective, betraying the extent, real or fancied, of the late peril. Basil is more calm, more grave and forcible. And this tone well consists with the energetic element in his character, which stands out so forcibly[2] in the famous interview with Modestus, the officer of Valens, and in which we are reminded strongly of Ambrose and of Chrysostom. The spirit of Gregory, on the other hand, is marked with that kind of 'vivacious asperity' which would become querulousness under adverse circumstances, and which appears so natural in a man who could say, *ἐμοὶ δὲ μεγίστη πράξις ἔστιν ἡ ἀπραξία*[3]. This weakness of disposition, this want of a substantive force in his own acts and the intentions from which they sprang, are still more remarkably brought out in his panegyric orations. The eulogy of Cyprian in particular, shews a decided failure in the perception of the Martyr's robust and thorough sanctity, of the prime elements of strength in his truly noble character; and dilutes its better and purer parts in a flood of tumid eloquence[4].

Gregory on Cyprian.

Basil's Episcopate.

To turn now more especially to the Archbishop of Cæsarea. During his twenty years' episcopate his life is not a stirring one, like that of Athanasius or Jerome. It was rather an equable exhibition of a virtuous ability in the administration of his diocese, marred by occasional

[1] Under Libanius, who was born in 314, and was still living (see his *Ep. ad Priscum*) in 390.

[2] Cf. chap. I. of this *Essay*.

[3] Gregor. Naz. *Epist.* XXXIII. p. 797.

[4] This oration has received hard measure at the hands of a writer whose natural strength of style was rendered almost acrimonious by the

clouds of religious controversy. His genius was happily exercised in his discourses to the poor of Cæsarea, which are perhaps among the most beautiful of his remains. In them he teaches his hearers the lessons of creation and providence[1]; concealing the science of the Athenian rhetorician under a persuasive and popular style. Every morning and evening he explained to a devoted audience the order of the seasons, the motions of the sea, the instinct or migration of animals, the existence of man, and the wonders of his nature, not, to be sure, with the science of Ptolemy and Hipparchus, but with a lofty and soul-compelling spirituality. It is impossible not to feel that there was this rare influence at work among the crowds that flocked to hear him; otherwise the bursts of elaborate rhetoric, such as an inference from the visible of the splendour of the invisible, and a comparison between the sea and the human sea before him, would have been lost upon the mechanics of Cæsarea. That he sometimes sacrificed orthodoxy to eloquence is notorious among even superficial readers of his works; with his ardent love of Greek literature, this was inevitable.

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Nature of his discourses to the Poor.

Many of his homilies are merely moral treatises on avarice, envy, abuse of riches, and similar subjects. But the unction of the Gospel, the unmistakable mark of a fervent study of the Scriptures, gives them a new character in his hands. The vanity of all earthly pleasures, the brevity of life, and every varying phasis of human suffering, are portrayed by him in a truly inexhaustible flow of language. And we can hardly wonder, that, when his weak constitution at length gave way to disease, the whole province assisted at his funeral, and men envied the Θύματα ἐπιτάφια, in other words, the unfortunate persons who were crushed to death in the crowd. "Their end," says Gre-

The Homilies of Basil.

His funeral.

circumstances of the time when he wrote the particular work alluded to (*Ancient Christianity*, I. 206). His style has altered materially since that time.

[1] Basilii *Opera*, I. 30 (quoted in Villemain, 119); the subject of the *Hexameron Sermons*.

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gory[1], 'may be accounted happy, as they followed him: and a more fervent enthusiast might say, they were victims to grace his funeral.'

We will now adduce an extract in the usual manner of Basil's more elaborate passages, and hardly compatible with Dean Milman's verdict of simplicity:—

Basil. Hom. in Ps. I. On Psalmody.

'Psalmody is the calm of the soul, the repose of the spirit, the arbiter of peace. It silences the wave, and conciliates the whirlwind of our passions, soothing the impetuous, tempering the unchaste. It is an engenderer of friendship, a healer of dissension, a reconciler of enemies. For who can longer count him his enemy, with whom to the throne of God he hath raised the strain?....Psalmody repels the demons; it lures the ministry of angels; a weapon of defence in nightly terrors; a respite from daily toil. To the infant it is a presiding genius; to manhood a crown of glory; a balm of comfort to the aged; a congenial ornament to women[2].'

Basil. Paneg. in B. Mart. Jul.

The following passage, enforcing, or rather illustrating, the duty of praise, is elaborate, but very beautiful:

[1] Gregorii Naz. *Paneg. in Basil.*

[2] Basilii *Hom. in Ps. i.* (translated by Boyd).

Boyd has brought a charge of plagiarism against Hooker in connexion with this passage. In the *Ecclesiast. Polit.* v. 38, 'Of Music with Psalms,' there occurs a long translation taken and duly acknowledged as coming from this Homily. In the page preceding Boyd declares that Hooker has stolen the most splendid part of Basil's exordium, and made no kind of reference.

That there is a similarity between the passage in Hooker and that in Basil, is certainly clear on comparing the two. But I can find no greater resemblance than might naturally be expected when two men of feeling and imagination come to write on the same subject, especially when the later has been a diligent student of the earlier, and has imbibed and, as it were, assimilated many of his modes of thought.

Boyd has added that the famous passage on 'Law' at the close of the First Book of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* is 'a collection of spoils from Gregory Nazianzen.' I have not been able to examine this charge: but I suspect that it is based upon a faulty conception of parallel passages.

On the duty of praise.

'"What reward shall we give unto the Lord, for all the benefits he hath bestowed?" From the cheerless gloom of non-existence He waked us into being; He ennobled us with understanding; He taught us arts to promote the means of life; He commanded the prolific earth to yield its nurture; He bade the animals to own us as their lords. For us the rains descend; for us the sun sheddeth abroad its creative beams; the mountains rise, the valleys bloom, affording us grateful habitation and a sheltering retreat. For us the rivers flow; for us the fountains murmur; the sea opens its bosom to admit our commerce; the earth exhausts its stores; each new object presents a new enjoyment; all nature pouring her treasures at our feet, through the bounteous grace of Him who wills that all be ours[1].'

Gregory of Nyssa.

Before turning to Gregory of Nazianzum, we may say a few words concerning the brother of the Cæsarean Prelate, the serene Gregory of Nyssa. He, like so many others among the Church Fathers, was at first a teacher of rhetoric; and the circumstance of persons (holding and exercising that profession) becoming Christian ministers in the numbers that they did, may shew us at once the extent to which all the stronger thought and feeling was becoming bound up with the new Faith, and also the effect which despotism had had, in closing to eloquence the channels of politics, and leaving open only those of divinity and the pastoral office. The theology of Gregory is often encumbered with an abstract philosophical tone, pointing to the tenacity with which he clung to literature long after he had entered the priesthood. Having been appointed by his brother's influence to the see of Nyssa[2], he appeared at the court and in the Councils of Theodosius's reign, and pro-

His theology, and the points of his style.

[1] Basilii Opera. *Paneg. in B. Mart. Julitt.*

[2] A small town in Cappadocia, near the river Halys.

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nounced the funeral orations of Flaccilla and her daughter, the elder Pulcheria[1]. He, too, has a Hexameron: but he falls behind his brother in imagination and oriental colouring, and goes beyond him in over-refined and far-fetched allegory. There is a serenity, however, about his style which cannot fail of being observed; and which constitutes his chief excellence.

Gregory Nazianzen.

Gregory of Nazianzum was probably superior, not only to Basil and his brother, but even to Chrysostom himself, so far as a natural capacity and endowment of oratorical talent is concerned. In the use he made of these, however he falls behind many a Christian minister far less richly endowed by nature. We have already alluded to the imbecility of his character, as reflected in the unsatisfactory manner in which he has handled the far stronger Cyprian[2]. Let us look at an instance of his bad taste in another panegyric oration, the Funeral Sermon on St Basil:

His want of vigour and taste.

Panegyric on Basil.

> 'When I peruse his Hexameron, I feel inspired, regenerated, transformed; I feel as if I were conversing with God himself, and hearing from his lips the history of the universe.....When I read his expositions of the Holy page, I stop not at the letter, I rest not at the superficial meaning of the word; but, soaring on renovated wings, I ascend from discovery to discovery, from light to light, till I reach the sublimest point, and sit enthroned on the riches of revelation[3].'

This unhappy strain of verbiage is produced to a still greater length of empty absurdity: 'Sorrow had eclipsed the light of reason,' when Basil was on his death-bed: 'and each one was desirous to impart a portion of his own life to

The peroration.

[1] Not the 'St Pulcheria, virgin, and empress,' of Tillemont (*Mémoires Eccles.* XV. 171 sqq.).

[2] P. 116 of this Essay. Cf. also *Ancient Christianity*, I. 206.

[3] Gregorii Naz. *Paneg. in Basil.*

him. How fruitless the desire! The empyrean gates were open, and marshalled angels gave the solemn mandate. Piety ascended to its native heaven; eloquence languished; learning faded; and genius drooped, when Basil died[1]."

We must of course bear in mind the strong Oriental affinities which a preacher, Cappadocian born, would be sure to possess; and also what a tide of chequered feeling must have flowed in upon the soul of Gregory, 'when Basil died.' He had, moreover, a power of beautifully touching the real springs of consolation at a time of death. The following extract from his Funeral Oration on his father will bear witness:

Gregory's finer vein.

'O my Mother, the nature of God and man is not the same, nor even of celestial and terrestrial beings[2]. They are unchangeable and immortal.....But how is it with us? Our contingencies dissolve and perish, the victims of perpetual decay and change.....There is one life to look forward to, the life above. There is one death. It is to commit sin. That destroys the soul.....O my Mother, if we would reason thus, we should neither depend too much on life, nor grieve immoderately at death. What loss have we sustained, if we are translated to a real existence.....Thou wilt tell me thy widowhood afflicts thee. Take comfort in looking forward. Thy separation grieves thee. But it is not grievous unto him. And where would be the sweet virtue of charity, if a man choosing for himself the smoothest path, should leave the more rugged and toilsome way to his neighbours[3]?' Orat. Fun. in Patr.

[1] Gregorii *Paneg. in Basil.*

[2] It is interesting to compare, though the parallel is little more than in the language, which Gregory may well have studied, the passage in the *Antigone:*—

ἀλλὰ θεός τοι καὶ θεογεννής,
ἡμεῖς δὲ βροτοὶ καὶ θνητογενεῖς·
Soph. Ant. 834.

[3] Gregorii *Orat. Funeb. in Patr.*

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Sasima. The unmanly side of Gregory's character.

The querulous and unmanly element in the character of Gregory was brought into great prominence by the appointment to the remote See of Sasima[1], which he clearly considered to be a gross violation of friendship on the part of Basil; who, if his motive in making the selection had been a reliance on his friend's willingness to undertake a difficult and therefore honourable post, must have been grievously disappointed. Gregory soon retired to Nazianzum, where his activity in assisting his father made some amends for the preceding want of vigour. The real glory of his life, however, was the restoration of the Catholic cause in Constantinople[2]. But he remained at his post scarcely more than a year and a half (379—381). Yet his Farewell Sermon, preached in the Church of St Sophia, is on the whole one of the noblest remains of his eloquence. The following is taken from the peroration:—

His farewell Sermon at Constantinople.

The peroration.

'And now by that Trinity which we all adore, by our mutual hopes, and by the concord of this people, I entreat this grace of you. Dismiss me with your prayers; let them be the tokens of my conduct; grant me these as testimonials of my discharge.....And, if it be your will, dismiss me with applause, that I may depart with honour. If otherwise, I complain not, as long as I am shielded by the arm of God.

'But you will begin to ask, whom shall we elect? The Lord will provide a pastor for the office, as once He

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall.* v. 18. Milman, III. 199, and Greg. *Poem. de Vitâ Suâ.*

'Was this the fruit of Athens? This the fruit
Of mutual toils in learning's boundless field,
The life we lived together?'

[2] Valens had deprived the Catholics of all the Constantinople churches. And when Gregory was summoned to the See, as a man whose ability was likely to raise the drooping cause, he began his ministry in the 'Anastasia' or 'Resurrection Chapel,' mentioned in his Farewell Sermon, perhaps the *μικρῷ οἰκίσκῳ* of *Socrates* (IV. 17). His eloquence fairly began to change the aspect of affairs, when Theodosius ascended the throne, and restored all the churches, St Sophia being carried by assault. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to go into the causes of his resignation, the speedy acceptance of which seems to have vexed Gregory.

found a lamb for the burnt-offering. This one thing I charge you, elect a man whose virtues may excite emulation, not one whose failings may excite pity. Not one who in all things will yield to all men, but who will honestly offend, rather than desert the truth. The one may be more agreeable just now: the other will profit more hereafter. Now attend me with your blessings and your prayers[1].' CHAP. VIII.

His Poems; and his retirement.

Having thus withdrawn himself from the world, Gregory lingered on eight years more in the composition of his poems. They can hardly have been to him a task of penance, as he is said to have pronounced them to be[2]; although there is more reality of feeling in twenty lines of the *De Vitâ Suâ* than in many of the pulpit rhapsodies, and the composition may have been proportionately fatiguing, especially through the medium of Hexameters and Iambic Senarii. These poems have confirmed a title which the Sermons might have been sufficient to secure; that of the 'Bard of Oriental Christianity,' distinct on the one hand from Bardesanes, the Poet of Gnosticism, and on the other from Ephrem, who represents in verse almost entirely the penitential side of the religion[3]. But it is sad to see a man who, old as he was, might have been still doing the work of Christ in the world, becoming an '*ignaviæ sectator*[4],' and wasting his declining days in traversing soul-theories and meditating metaphysic sadnesses.

§ 4. Hilary.

Hilary of Poitiers.

	A.D.
Hilarius, born at Poitiers ..... about	320
,, made Bishop of Poitiers	350
,, attends Synod of Seleucia in Isauria[5]	359
,, denounces Auxentius of Milan	364
,, dies	367

[1] Gregorii Naz. *Opera*, I. 766.
[2] Milman, III. 205.
[3] Ibid. III. 190.
[4] The contemptuous term applied by Valens to the Monks.
[5] Held by the Semi-Arian party. Hilary attended in order to lift the Trinitarian standard.

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His style.

We will begin by adducing three specimens of Hilary's nervous and outspoken style, the true representative of his character:—

The first is taken from an address to Constantius on Toleration:

Hilary on Toleration.

'You[1] are ever on the watch that all your subjects may enjoy the benefits of liberty. Now the knowledge of God is to man a gift granted him by God, more than a task imposed on him. God, inspiring by an admiration for His wonders respect for His commandments, disdains the forcing of the will to adore Him. Were a like means[2] employed for the support of the true faith, episcopal wisdom would oppose it, and would say, "God is the Lord of all; He desires no forced homage, no forced confession of faith; we must not deceive but serve him." It is more for our own sakes than for His that we ought to adore Him.'

The next is from an Oration against the same Emperor[3]:—

Charges against Constantius.

'I declare to thee, O Constantius, what I would have said to Nero as well, and what Decius and Maximin should have heard from my mouth. Thou warrest against God; thou persecutest His Saints, and hatest the preachers of Christ. Thou art the tyrant, not of things human, but of things divine. This thou hast in common with the heathen Emperors. Now, see what thou hast thyself alone. Thou pretendest a lying Christianity, and yet thou art a new enemy of Christ. Thou dost take profit of the precursor of

[1] Hilarii *Opera*, f. 1221.

[2] That is, like this 'forcing,' which God rejects. The whole spirit of this extract is worthy of a dignified defender of the Faith.

[3] After the Council of Seleucia, he prayed the Emperor for less restraint in formal matters, and liberty to dispute publicly with the Arians. Constantius refused: and was then assailed with the bold invective of which this is a part.

Antichrist, and beginnest his mysteries of iniquity. Thou forgest professions of faith, and livest contrary to the faith; thou dost trouble that which is ancient, and soilest that which is new[1].'

Auxentius, Bishop of Milan, was a timeserver, Arian and Catholic by turns. Hilary wrote against him: upon which Auxentius summoned him before the Quæstor. The accused prelate addressed the Bishop and people thus[2]:

Hilary and Auxentius of Milan.

'We are forced to compassionate the misery of our age, to groan over the foolish opinions of a time, when they think men can protect God, and when they labour to defend Jesus Christ by the intrigues of the age. Bishops! you who are such indeed, I demand of you, what patronage did the Apostles use for the preaching of the Gospel? What authority did they lean upon... to make well nigh every nation turn from idols to the true God? Looked they for any credit at court, when they sung hymns to God from the depth of a dungeon, in the midst of chains, and after the torture? Was it by the edicts of a Prince that Paul, given for a spectacle in the circus, formed a church to Jesus Christ? ...When the Apostles supported themselves by the labour of their hands, and assembled in upper chambers, traversing towns and villages in spite of senatorian decrees and royal edicts, must we not think that they had the keys of heaven, and did not the grace of God manifest itself then against the hatred of man?... But now, O grief and sorrow, earthly protections recommend the faith divine. Christ is despoiled of his grace, while they are intriguing in His name. The Church threatens exile and the dungeon, she

[1] Hilarii *Opera*, f. 1353.

[2] Hilarii *Opera*, f. 1267.

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who was once believed in, in spite of exile, in spite of the dungeon.'

Hilary a lesser Athanasius.

Hilary was one of those able defenders of the Faith whom the spread of Arianism in the fourth century called forward into notice. He was another Athanasius in a little Gallic town. Born in a wealthy Pagan family, he received an ample education, which the Schools of Gaul were then well able to afford; and, having married, he settled down to a life of studious ease. But Philosophy led him, as it led so many in that and the two preceding ages, to Christianity: and he found, first a Divinity, then the true God, then the Divine Mediator, then the full meaning of an immortal soul. He has traced the conflicts he went through,

The De Trinitate.

in the 'Twelve Books *De Trinitate*,' a heavy publication written shortly after his elevation to the episcopate. This book is very unequal: rarely rising above the common level of thought and expression, and very often falling below it. When he rises, it is to a noble simplicity of style: and he sinks to a tedious pursuit of profitless and over-refined detail. But he exhibits the Augustinian vigour of faith, and it often operates to relieve his literary deficiencies. The thorough way in which true toleration animates the first extract recorded above, is almost too good for it to last throughout the whole of his eventful struggle with prejudice and wicked oppression. It is kept up, indeed, in an address of a similar strain to the Emperor

The Address to Jovian on Toleration.

Jovian on the subject of toleration for Paganism. Like the argument to Constantius, this address takes the high and truly dignified standing-point: freedom in religious matters grounded on the greatness of God. But Hilary's tone

His later years.

degenerated into a free invective, less becoming a Christian orator, when the Emperor Constantius refused to hear his prayer after the Council of Seleucia in Isauria. (359). The dispute with Auxentius, of Milan, had the effect of causing him to retire finally to Poitiers, where he occupied the

short remainder of his life with Church music[1] and an Exposition of the Psalms[2]. CHAP. VIII

§ 5. Jerome. *Jerome.*

	A.D.
Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymus Sophronius) born in Dalmatia	340
,, intimacy with Damasus of Rome about[3]	383
,, retirement to Bethlehem	390
,, dies	420

A very brief and fragmentary notice of Jerome is all that can be here attempted. He would obviously, in a freer arrangement, demand a special chapter.

As we have done in the case of other Church Fathers, remarked upon by Niebuhr, we will first see what that great historical critic has to say about the recluse of Bethlehem[4]. *Niebuhr on Jerome.* 'St Jerome and St Augustine,' he remarks, 'are two great men, or rather giants: what I know of them justifies me in giving them high praise. The literary and critical writings of St Jerome are dry and barren; but, in his other works, he displays animation, elasticity of mind, learning to an immense extent, and wit which continues till his old age, *and constitutes the predominant feature of his character*. Had he not been an ecclesiastical writer, he *might* have shone by his wit in the same manner as Pascal did[5].' Coleridge, differing apparently from Niebuhr, ranked Jerome as one among the *Coleridge.*

[1] See above, p. 114, n. of this Essay: and Milman, III. 523.

[2] Neander (III. 451) and Niebuhr (*Lectures*, III. 339) seem not quite agreed as to Hilary in connexion with Church music and Church hymns. The truth seems to be this: that Hilary of Poitiers was an active mover in Church music, while Pope Hilary, the successor of Leo the Great (461—467), was the author of the hymns which go by his name.

[3] It was not long before the death of Damasus that Jerome, who, however, had early visited Rome, became his secretary. And Damasus died, Siricius (hostile to Jerome) succeeding after a brief schism, in the year 385.

[4] Niebuhr, *Lectures on Roman History*, III. 339.

[5] The italics in the first instance are my own, and are meant to draw attention to the frequency with which this quality in Jerome is alluded to by Milman and other writers. In the second instance the italics of Dr Schmitz are represented.

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three great Church Fathers in respect of theology[1], the other two being Origen and Augustine: and this trio being corresponded to on the side of oratory by Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Chrysostom. It is interesting to remark, in connexion with the observation of Coleridge, that it was Gregory Nazianzen who first directed the attention of Jerome to Origen's exegetical writings[2]: and that from that time he availed himself of them to a large extent, translating also several of his homilies into Latin. Luther[3] was for excluding Jerome from the list of the Church Fathers altogether, regarding him simply as a heretic; but, in another place Luther informs us of his belief, that if Prudentius had lived in the Augustan age of letters, he would have been considered superior to Horace.

Luther.

His retirement, and his labours.

It was after settling at Bethlehem, where the widow Paula and her daughter Eustochia joined him, that he applied himself seriously to literature. A Jew, who came to him by night, was his master in Hebrew, and at last the difficult language was thoroughly acquired. He translated Origen, revised the Septuagint, and pursued the Latin translation (with prefaces and commentaries) of the Bible. Men of learning resorted to him from all parts, and he taught Rome from the cave of Bethlehem.

Jerome and Rufinus.

The controversy with Rufinus, formerly his close friend, affords the best opportunity for estimating both the moral and the literary character of Jerome. It cannot here be entered into, but its rise was this. Rufinus had translated some heresy-tainted works of Origen, and had made use of Jerome's name in the preface. On this, Jerome, who was ever jealous of his orthodoxy, disclaimed all agreement with the work, and instantly the controversy broke out all over the Christian world. Rufinus fastened on Jerome's new translation, as having an unsettling tendency: and as

[1] *Table Talk*, p. 48.
[2] Neander, *Church History*, IV. 454.
[3] Luther's *Table Talk*, 539. The passage about Prudentius is in 532.

giving the heathen a handle for accusing the Christians of changing their law at pleasure. He charged Jerome, moreover, with an undue attention to profane literature[1]. Jerome replied with vehement ardour: proudly contrasting his own humility and self-abasement with the dignity kept up by Rufinus. No answer was returned: Rufinus died soon after receiving Jerome's reply in Sicily, as the barbarians were in occupation of great part of Italy.

Jerome corresponds with Augustine.

To this period is to be ascribed the correspondence between Jerome and Augustine. Orosius, who was the messenger of Augustine, found the former to the last full of admiration for his great rival. This correspondence, which will be referred to again below, turned very much on questions relating to Jerome's translation. Of this work M. Villemain remarks[2], that the sublime melancholy which characterizes it is to be ascribed to the darkness of the times: in the crash of the falling empire he heard the echo of the prophecies fulfilled. The violent conduct of Pelagius in Judæa[3], and the death of Eustochia, added greatly to his gloom.

His end.

He reached eternal rest at last, says the author of the *Tableau*, when ninety years old. 'It was the only refuge for his dark melancholy.' He was, as compared with Augustine by the same critic, much the truer Roman, at least in language, and incomparably the better Greek scholar. Jerome was more practical, and less speculative, Augustine the broader and gentler 'mind-ruler' of the two. Augustine breathed the spirit of a lofty and Christianised

Jerome and Augustine.

[1] See Neander (IV. 432) for an account of Jerome's vision relating to profane literature, and the use Rufinus made of it against him. The following are some of Rufinus's words about his opponent's learning: (Hieron. *Op.* II. 285, ed. *Martianay*, quoted by Neander):—

'Relegantur nunc quæso quæ scribit, si una ejus operis pagina est, quæ non eum iterum Ciceronianum pronuntiet, ubi non dicat; sed Tullius noster, sed Flaccus noster, sed Maro. Jam vero Chrysippum, Aristidem, Empedoclem, ... tanquam fumos et nebulas lectoribus spargit.'

[2] *Tableau de l'Éloquence*, p. 349.

[3] He was at length driven out by the governor of Jerusalem.

CHAP. VIII. humanity, Jerome, as an assailant and satirist, had much of the spirit of Juvenal: in Christian practice, he worshipped sacrifice and effort.

Paulinus.

§ 6. PAULINUS.

	A.D.
Pontius Meropius Paulinus, born at Bordeaux	353
,, made Consul by Gratian through influence of Ausonius	378
,, ordained through the persuasion of Ambrose	395
,, Bishop of Nola	409
,, dies	431

The Exhortation to Almsgiving.

Of Paulinus the only work that remains to us is an eloquent exhortation to almsgiving, a subject on which he, if any man, had a right to be heard, and which he was likely to enforce wherever an unflinching example is valued as the companion of a precept. His family was a senatorial one, and, through the influence of Ausonius, who had been his tutor in eloquence, he was himself made consul by Gratian. He afterwards married one of the richest ladies of Spain; but, on his baptism, sold all his possessions, and distributed them among the poor. This made him become an outcast to his former friends: and estranged even Ausonius. But he secured instead the warm affection and esteem of Augustine.

His renunciation of wealth on his being baptised loses him Ausonius, and gains Augustine.

His character and remains.

Unobtrusive and really humble, Paulinus had not the influence and authority of the great orators. A work on paganism, which he undertook, was never finished: and in a correspondence with Augustine on some speculative points, the inferiority of his intellect and imagination is very apparent. The Exhortation to Almsgiving, however, and some graceful verse-remains, shew that he was far from being deficient in powers of expression; and these, with so thorough, so devoted, and so unselfish a soul to prompt them, were enough to earn a large and well-merited contemporary reputation[1].

[1] Villemain, *Tableau de l'Eloquence*, 359—365.

CHAPTER IX.

The Oratorical Period Proper. (2) *Chrysostom.*

Οὐ γὰρ ὑπεστειλάμην τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι ὑμῖν πᾶσαν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ.
ST PAUL.

The prejudicial effect which the prevailing system of rhetoric had upon him as a preacher cannot be overlooked, although in him more than in Gregory Nazianzen it was softened down by a Christian simplicity of character, and by a depth of mind.....

NEANDER [*Life*, p. 7].

CHRYSOSTOM.

		A.D.
Johannes Chrysostomus, born at Antioch		354? [347[1], Milman]
,,	baptized by Bishop Meletius	377
,,	ascetic life near Antioch—Learns Bible by heart...	378-9
,,	ordained Deacon and begins preaching	381
,,	ordained Priest by Flavian, Meletius' successor ...	386
,,	The outbreak at Antioch	387
	[The taxation excites disaffection and revolt. Imperial statues thrown down. Anger of the Emperor and panic at Antioch. Flavian goes to Constantinople; and Chrysostom preaches.—*Hom.* XIX. *ad Pop. Ant.*]	
,,	election to the See of Constantinople	397-8
	[Death of Nectarius. Press of candidates. Election of Chrysostom through influence of Eutropius.]	
,,	deposes thirteen Bishops of Lydia and Phrygia ...	399
,,	disgrace of Eutropius, who is saved by the influence of Chrysostom	400?
,,	requested to reform the Church of Antioch	400
	[During his absence the faction against him gains ground. Theophilus of Alexandria comes to Constantinople, to answer the accusation of the ἀδελφοὶ μακροί. He conducts himself with insolent hostility, and labours to expel Chrysostom, who refuses to submit to the 'Council of The Oak' at Chalcedon, and]	
,,	is exiled by the Emperor to Nicæa	403

[1] 344 and 349 are also given. Cf. Hook's *Eccles. Biog.*

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A.D.

[an insurrection forces his recal two days afterwards. He continues to preach with increasing plainness against the Empress Eudoxia, and]

,, is again banished to Cucusus in Mount Taurus ... 404

[afterwards, for greater security, to Pityus, on the Euxine. On the road to that place, when about nine miles distant from Comana, in Pontus, he]

,, dies .....Sep. 14, 407[1]

His variety,

CHRYSOSTOM is emphatically a study for a lifetime. The great variety of his works, and the variety of circumstances under which they were produced from time to time, at some periods literally from day to day, during his eventful life, render the antiquities alone of his remains a long and intricate study. The voluminousness of the homilies he left, without taking account of any other kind of discourse, is indeed surprising. Sixty-five on Genesis, excluding nine on single passages in the same book: ninety on St Matthew: eighty-seven on St John; fifty-four on the Acts; thirty-two on the Epistle to the Romans; forty-four on the First Epistle to the Corinthians; thirty on the Second; twenty-four on the Ephesians; fifteen on the Philippians; twelve on the Colossians; eleven on the First Epistle to the Thessalonians; five on the Second; eighteen on the First Epistle to Timothy; ten on the Second; six on Titus; three on Philemon; and thirty-four on the Epistle to the Hebrews:—this is a formidable array of matter for the patristic student to analyse or to digest. The number of Sermons, moreover, whose authority is doubtful, is very large. One hundred and seventeen of these are to be found in Savile's seventh volume; and sixty more in his fifth, which also contains sixty-two Sermons on various isolated texts, and thirty-four panegyrics.

and great voluminousness.

[1] With regard to the ancient estimates of different points in his career we may remark that Palladius represents, naturally, the extreme of partiality, and Socrates that of critical severity.

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To ascertain the exact chronology of this large collection, is an almost impossible task, and not more difficult than barren. Dupin agrees with Photius in laying it down as a general rule[1], that the Sermons preached at Antioch by Chrysostom were more 'elaborate' than those preached at Constantinople. But it will be abundantly evident that, in so extensive a collection, a rule so little defined as this is can be but of little service. At any rate, many plain discourses were delivered at Antioch, though perhaps on the other hand, fewer elaborate ones, in proportion at Constantinople. Meantime, it must be remarked that internal evidence abounds, relating to the 'place where.' Thus on one occasion he speaks of his hearers as being accustomed to boast that they lived in the city where Christians first received the name; and, in another, he makes express mention of Daphnë, the suburb of Antioch, as belonging to the place in which he was ministering. In a preacher so much given to plain-spoken allusion as Chrysostom was, this is no more than we should be inclined to expect.

Difficulty of fixing the chronological arrangement.

The 'place where.'

Further, detached Sermons and series of Sermons have been sufficiently determined to a particular date. Thus the nine Sermons on particular passages in Genesis have been decided to belong, the first eight to the year 386, and the ninth to a date certainly later than that of the Homilies, that is to say, than 395 or 396[2]; just eleven years before the Archbishop's death. These first eight Sermons contain very varied specimens of Chrysostom's style, and well repay a perusal. The opening[3] of the first is far too florid to suit a modern and northern taste, and would be a good case in point to support the critique of Photius, which ascribes a greater elaborateness to the Antiochene discourses. The fourth and eighth contain admirable in-

Date of Gen. Serm.

The first eight of these sermons give very varied specimens of his style.

[1] Dupin, III. 15 n. See below p. 160, for the probable chronology of the *De Sacerdotio*.

[2] Tillemont quoted by Montfaucon, IV. 746, and Montfaucon himself. Preface, vii.

[3] Chrysost. *Gen. Serm.* I. 1.

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stances[1] of facile application, a subject which will be freely illustrated below. And for a dignified practical exhortation we need go no further than the same eighth sermon[2], which, though short, is an extremely beautiful discourse.

Without now going into any greater length of preliminary remark, it is proposed to adduce a series of illustrations to various points in the character of Chrysostom and of his remains: with a distinct and heartfelt consciousness how far it is beyond the power of any student, who cannot reckon the years of his apprenticeship and after-service almost by decades, to do more than skirt the borders of this wide and fruitful field.

His mother saves Chrysostom to the Church.

The great Christian orator had nearly doomed himself, in the hasty and enthusiastic zeal of youth—he was but nineteen at the time—to a perpetual silence; intending, with an equally zealous friend, to seek in a Syrian hermitage the perfection of that monastic seclusion which was, indeed, his ideal of Christian life: but to which, as we shall see hereafter, he did not adhere in practice so blindly as did many of his contemporaries. His mother saved him to the Church: and the name of Anthusa stands blessed among the names of women, side by side with Monica and Nonna. We will gather, from the records that remain in the touching eloquence of the son, how the mother pleaded:

De Sacerd. I. 9.

> 'When she perceived that this was my intention, she took me by the right hand, and led me into her own private chamber: she made me sit beside her on the bed where she had brought me forth: and unlocked the fountains of tears, adding thereto words more piteous far than tears; and such was the mournful burden of woe that she poured forth to me:

[1] Chrysost. *Gen. Serm.* IV. 3, and VIII. 1. Cf. also the *Hom. in Gen.* VI.
[2] Chrysost. *Gen. Serm.* VIII. 2.

'It was for no long time, my son, that I was permitted to enjoy thy father's excellent nobility of soul. God willed it so. For his death followed hard upon the anguish that I endured in bringing thee forth: and brought down untimely orphanhood on thee, untimely widowhood on me, whose miseries they alone who have endured it can know to their full depth. For what words can attain to the story of that storm and tempest under which the young wife must stand, who, having just left her father's house, and all unknowing of the busy world, is suddenly cast about in anguish and sorrow, and forced to bear up under cares too weighty for her age and her sex. I tell thee she must correct the slothfulness of her servants; she must resist the plots of her kindred: she must nobly endure the unjust dealing of the publicans, and their hard-heartedness in the gathering of the tribute. And, moreover, if he that is gone left a little child, if she be a daughter, even thus is care brought upon the mother, although she cause little expense and little anxiety. But a son doth fill her every day full of ten thousand fears and a host of disquietudes. I forbear to tell of the expense that she is forced to bear, if she desire to bring him up as befitteth a noble youth. But none of these things did move me: neither would I look on a second bridal: nor bring another bridegroom into this thy father's house[1]. But I did hold on and abide in the surge and the tumult, and did not fly from the iron furnace of my widowhood. Chiefly indeed I was aided from on high: but it brought me no

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[1] Chrysostom, *Ad Viduam Jun.* I. § 2, relates that, when he told *the Sophist* (*probably Libanius*) that his mother was a widow of forty years and that it was twenty years since she lost her husband, he was utterly astonished: and, turning to those present, cried out with a loud voice, 'Oh! wonder, what wives the Christians have!' Neander, *Life*, p. 4, n.

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little strength in my woes, to look stedfastly on thy face, and there to keep safe an image of him that is dead, quickened with life and drawn with lovely accuracy. Wherefore even when thou wast but a tender infant, even before thou hadst learnt to talk, when children chiefly delight those that bore them, thou gavest me more than pleasure, even consolation. Yea, and thou hast not even this cause of complaint against me, that though I bore my widowhood nobly, yet I diminished the inheritance which thou hadst, to support me therein; a lot, which I well know many have endured, that have had grievous orphanhood to suffer. I kept it all whole and untouched, and spared not to expend out of my own substance, which I brought with me when I left my father's house, whatever was needful for thy reputation. Nay, think not that to praise myself I say all this; but for all these things I beg of thee one sign of gratitude, that thou wouldst not involve me in a second widowhood, nor stir up again the grief that begins already to be lulled in sleep[1]; only wait for the time of my departure; perhaps, a while thereafter, thou mayest hence remove. For to them that are young, is hope allowed to attain even to extreme old age; but to us who are already there, nought is left to look forward to but the grave.

'Therefore, when thou hast given my body to the earth, and mingled my bones with the bones of thy father, then set forth on long travels, and sail whatsoever sea thou wilt, no man forbidding thee. But until I have breathed my last breath, suffer the abiding with me: and rush not blindly on an offence against God, by

1 * * wherefore wake
The old bitterness again, and break
The low beginnings of content.

involving in such miseries thy mother who hath never done thee wrong. For if thou hadst this to accuse me of, that I am catching and dragging thee into the cares of this life, and compelling thee to take care of my affairs, think no more with respect of the laws of nature, of thy education, of thy life with me; but shun me as an enemy and conspirator. If, however, I have done my very all to provide for thee a passage through this life in unbroken leisure, though no other chain can bind thee to me, yet let this. Yea, even if thou didst say that ten thousand loved thee, there is not one that will afford thee the enjoyment of such a liberty: for, indeed, there is not one among them all whose care for thy reputation is like unto my care.'

Chrysostom on St Paul.

The next extract, a panegyric on St Paul[1], was preached at Antioch: and what must the force of his words have been, when, in the city where the Apostle's house was still pointed out, Chrysostom celebrated Rome chiefly because of the memory of Paul, and thus by this one name united the two Churches.

In Ep. Rom. Hom. 32. (IX. 678. *ed. Ben.*)

'I love Rome, for Paul wrote to the Romans, and loved them. In his life he talked with them: amongst them he ended his days: with them are preserved his sacred remains. From this one thing Rome reaps more glory than from aught else; Paul and Peter will from thence be caught up to heaven. Think with wonder and astonishment of the sight which Rome will see. Paul rising from that sepulchre with Peter, and borne upwards to a meeting with the Lord. How fair a rose is this for Rome to present to her God! Oh the

[1] Chrysost. *Opera*, IX. 678. (*In Ep. Rom. Hom.* XXXII.) Several passages from this point to the end of the Homily are here strung together.

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crowns with which that city is crowned! Oh the golden chains with which she is encircled! the fountains of waters that she hath within her gates! It is not for her treasures that I admire her, not for her monuments, nor for the rest of her pomp: but for the possession of these two pillars of the Church. Who will grant me to touch the corpse of St Paul? to bend over his tomb? to gaze on the dust of that body that...received the martyr's seal, and published everywhere the sacred word? I could wish to look upon the dust of hands that were bound with chains, hands through whose imposition the Holy Ghost was given, hands that penned this—"Ye see with what large letters I have written unto you with mine own hand," —and this—"The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand:" a hand which the viper saw, and dropped upon the blazing wood. I could wish to look upon the dust of eyes well nigh blinded, and yet gazing abroad again unto the salvation of the whole world, and counted worthy to behold Christ in the body. And I could wish to look upon the dust of those feet, that wearied not of travelling over the earth, that were made fast in the stocks when the prison was shaken, and measured out the roads of habitable and of desert lands alike.

'Let us imitate him, brethren: for *he was a man of like nature with ourselves*[1]; but as he shewed for Christ so great a love, he has overpassed the wall of heaven[2], and gained a place amidst the angels. If we will make the effort, and kindle within ourselves the like flame, we too shall have strength to imitate the holy Apostle.

[1] Compare this tone of language, relating too to an Apostle, with the rhapsodies of Gregory Nazianzen relating to the departed Basil. Cf. supr. p. 120.

[2] Hac arte...
Enisus arces attigit igneas.

Were this impossible he would never have said, "Be ye followers of me, as I am a follower of Christ." ' CHAP. IX.

Another passage beautifully describes the influence of St Paul upon the early Christians[1]:—

St Paul's treatment of the early Christians Op. III. 158. (ed. Ben.)

'With such trials before their eyes, when the pain was actually *there*, but the gain felt by hope only, and the promise still afar off, when the furnace, the oven, the sword, nay, every form of torment and death was felt not in fear only, but in real agony; when those who were to enter the combat were not yet wholly detached from the heathen altars, the idols, the pleasures of the besotted world, when they were not used to lofty contemplations of eternal life, but were still bound to things below, and seemed as if they must grow feeble and almost yield, if incessantly attacked.

'Look at what Paul did for them, the man so confident of celestial truths, and listen with attention to his wisdom. He speaks to them incessantly of the life to come: he lays their reward before their eyes; he shews them their crown, and comforts them with the hope of eternal gain. What says he then? He says, "I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are too weak, too unworthy of the glory that shall be revealed in us." That is to say, why meet me with the executioner, with punishment, poverty, and imprisonment? Threaten me with all that is formidable to man. Nothing you can tell me of can weigh with that reward, that crown, that exchange that I look for. The one is exhausted, and comes to an end in this life; the other finds no end in eternity.'

The following is an instance of Chrysostom's manner in making an appeal for the poor[2]:—

[1] Chrysost. *Opera*, III. 158. (ed. Ben.) *De Gloria in Trib.*

[2] Chrysost. *Opera*, III. 261 (ed. Ben.). The sermon is entitled *De Eleemosynâ.*

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An appeal for the poor of Antioch during the winter. *Op.* III. 261. (*ed. Ben.*) De Eleemosyn.â.

'I come before you to-day, to discharge an embassy that is just, that is useful, that is honourable for you. I am the delegate of none other than the poor who inhabit your city. It is no popular decree, nor deliberation of a senate that brings me here: but it is the spectacle of most cruel sufferings. As, hastening to you, I passed by the public square, and the crossing of the streets, I saw grovelling on the ground so many wretched beings, some maimed, others deprived of sight, others covered with incurable sores, that I felt there was an excess of inhumanity in your neglecting to succour these miserable men; when so many motives, as well as this Easter at which we have arrived, incite us to such conduct with so much force. At all times it is fit for us to exhort to almsgiving; for at all times we have need of the mercy of God. But, more than ever, when the cold is intense, as now it is[1]. In summer the genial warmth of the season is a relief to the poor. Though scarcely clothed, they can go out into the open air, and the heat of the sun stands to them instead of clothing. They can lie on the stones: they can pass the night beneath the open sky. They require neither shoe, nor wine, nor tender meats. They have enough of fresh water from the fountains, they have a few roots, nature herself furnishing an easy table for them. Another advantage, the opportunity of labour, is then assured to them. Those who build houses, those who conduct trenches through the earth, those who navigate the sea, all these have need of the arm of the poor man. *In fact, his body is to the poor man, very much of what his fields, his houses, and his other possessions, are to the rich.* It is all his revenue: he draws none from any other source. Thus the

[1] This practical and circumstantial exhortation gives us a very vivid picture of the condition of the working classes in Antioch.

summer brings some relief to indigence. But winter wages against it a rude warfare; and attacks it within by hunger, without by cold; rendering the flesh, as it were, dead. It then needs a more substantial food; a warmer clothing: a roof; a bed; and a hundred other things. And then, at this very moment, occupation fails. Therefore, as now it is that there is greater need, and need even of the necessaries of life, come, and at this time when no one gives to the poor man wages, no one occupation, let us set ourselves, men of pitying hearts, in the place of workmasters; and let us have for a partner in this work the holy Paul, friend and guardian of the poor.'

Op. III. 179. (*ed. Ben.*) *In illud,* Si esurierit.

In the passage that follows[1], the earnest Chrysostom expresses his fervent desire, that the attention he claims should be an enthusiastic attention, and should communicate itself from one to the other. Of each of his hearers he makes an apostle, and enjoins it upon him to attract other disciples, and to edify even those whom he does not attract:—

Those who come to worship should try to bring others.

'That your attendance here may not be useless, I beg you to turn from their errors those brethren, whom I have so often besought you to bring in amongst us, whom I ever shall beseech you to bring. Give them counsel, not by words only but by deeds: for the best instruction comes from example. Though you utter no words to them, yet if the calm of your demeanour as you leave the church, if your look, if your voice, reveal to those who have not entered, the profit which your soul has made, that will suffice for exhortation and for recommendation.

'We ought to depart from this place, as from a sanctuary of the initiated, as better men; as more loyal to the

[1] Chrysost. *Opera,* III. 179. (ed. Ben.) In illud, *Si esurierit,* &c.

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The due results of public worship.

true wisdom; as governed in all our actions, and in all our words. Let the wife who sees her husband, the father who sees his son, the son who sees his father, the slave who sees his master, the friend who sees his friend, the enemy who sees his enemy coming forth from the church, yea, let all in this assembly receive the proof of the benefit which is thence carried away. And this proof they will receive, if they see you are become gentler in heart, more thoughtful, more religious.'

And now, before we come to speak more directly of the labours of Chrysostom in connexion with the city and people of Antioch, it will be desirable to take a very brief survey of the place, and set it in some manner more before our eyes.

The situation of Antioch.

To Chrysostom himself we are indebted for much of the very minute knowledge we possess of this city in ancient times. It was, indeed, 'beautiful for situation,' a royal residence, and worthy of being patronised by Emperors[1]. The river Orontes, from its sources in the valley of Cœle-Syria, flows north for 120 miles; and then, making a bold sweep, west and west by south, forces its way to the sea, through the sublime defile between the mountain-ranges of Casius and Amanus. At the bend is a spacious alluvial plain, the north section of which is a lake and morass. This plain gradually converges towards the defile, the river winding through the midst of it. In the plain or valley on the left bank of the Orontes, near the mouth of the defile, stands the city of Antioch. It communicates easily with the coast through the defile, and with Southern Syria up the valley of the Orontes: with Mesopotamia and the East by Aleppo and the Euphrates, and with Cilicia and

[1] Trajan remained there for some time, and the famous Constantine Basilica marked the patronage of the first Christian Emperor.

Asia Minor through the Beliân Pass, which crosses the ridge of Amanus to the plain of Issus[1]. Such was the site, and such the advantages of the place where Chrysostom exercised his powerful ministry. Yet the population had all the vices and dissipation of a worthless rabble. Their passion for the theatre and the races was a continual drain upon their energies: and the Oriental element of superstition and imposture, worked out by a large and constant staff of Chaldee and Jewish agents, was a means of still worse mischief; while supreme over all these reigned a complete, a despotic licentiousness. Nor was there any possibility of its being otherwise, when wealth and Oriental pomp luxuriated side by side with the worst results of pauperism and idleness[2].

The character of its inhabitants.

This exorbitant wealth may serve to introduce us to the notice of some of Chrysostom's characteristics in dealing with the Antiochians. We learn some astonishing particulars from himself with regard to its extent. 'Thou verily,' he says in one place[3], 'countest so many acres of land; ten, twenty, or more houses; as many baths; one or two thousand servants: and chariots, covered with silver and gold.' The slaves of the principal citizens were covered with gold; even their beds were of ivory, inlaid with silver and gold. We learn, however, from the Homilies[4], that the proportion of those who could be called rich was only one-tenth of the whole population. The poor he reckoned at another tenth; and the middle class made up the remaining eight parts.

Chrysostom on the wealthy classes.

A very natural consequence of this abundance was, that superstitious persons hoped to atone for their sins by making

[1] I have been greatly assisted to a clear conception of the site of Antioch, by a book, the title of which has perhaps a tendency to lower the estimate of its real value to the scholar; Mr Murray's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine.*

[2] See the picture of pauperism above, p. 140.

[3] *Hom. Matth.* LXIII. § 4. Cf. also *Hom.* I *Cor.* XXI. § 6, and *Concio* I. *De Lazaro*, § 7. These are brought forward in Neander's *Life.*

[4] *Hom. Matth.* LXVI. (7,630, ed. Ben.)

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splendid presents to the churches, and offering costly vessels to the altars. The high and eminently practical tone of morality which is the grand feature of Chrysostom's ministrations throughout his entire career, displays itself admirably in connexion with this vice:—

His practical theory of almsgiving. Op VII. 508. (*ed. Ben.*)

'Let us not believe,' he says[1], 'that, after defrauding widows and orphans, we shall ensure our salvation by giving to the altar a golden cup, adorned with precious stones. If thou wishest to honour the sacrifice of the Lord, offer as a gift thy soul, for which he suffered death. Let that be of gold: *for if thy soul be inferior to lead, or to the potter's clay, what profiteth it thee, that the vessel of thy offering be golden?* Let us not then look to offering golden vessels only, but let us rather offer good works. For they are more precious than gold: being obtained without avarice or robbery. The Church is neither a magazine of silver nor of gold, but a community of angels; wherefore we have need of souls; and it is for the sake of our souls that God is pleased to accept such presents.'

With the same unwavering faithfulness we find him uttering an eloquent rebuke against those who had taken part in the great Festival which ushered in the new year. Many heathen rites, with a superabundance of heathen licence and sensuality, remained among the Christian body in the celebration which lasted from the end of December to the sixth of January; and the following extract from a Sermon preached on the first day of the new year, came therefore as a check upon those who might be inclined to refrain themselves, immediately after the debauch of the first day's commemoration[2]:

[1] *Hom. Matth.* L. (ed. Ben. 7, 508.)

[2] *Hom. in Kal. Jan.* (3, 955, ed. Bened.) This passage is translated in Neander's *Life*.

'It were the extreme of folly to expect good fortune throughout the year from the good fortune of a single day: nor were it folly merely, but the very suggestion of the devil, *to refer the character of our lives, not to our own exertion and zeal,* but to the mere revolution of days. The whole year will be to you fortunate—not if ye be drunken at the new moon of the first month, but if upon the new moon and every day you do that which is pleasing to God.—Each day is good or evil, not through any character of its own; for one day differeth not from any other day, except as we are diligent or slothful. If you work righteousness, the day will be to you good; if sin, then it will be evil, and full of condemnation.' *On the New Year's Festival. Op.* III 955. (*ed. Ben.*)

Most truly has Neander said that the ministry of Chrysostom at Antioch between the outbreak of 387 and his removal to Constantinople, is a miniature of his entire life. One lifelong protest against vice and villany of every kind, in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord,—this was the calling of the 'priest John,' of the illustrious Archbishop, of the exiled and suffering Saint.—And it was in Antioch at that time more especially that such a protest was demanded from him. The mean and evasive element in the character of the inhabitants, which must often have afflicted his lofty soul more than any mere display of rampant vice, is vividly portrayed in the frantic or stupid terror which succeeded the insane acts of insurrection and statue-violation that marked the year 387. And it was the earnest resolution of Chrysostom to adopt that time with all its intense agonies as a fresh start-point for still more diligent labours than heretofore, if by any means he might make some sort of impression upon the dissolute and thoughtless thousands under his care. If he had ever before had the most latent, the most darkly concealed fear of consequences, he now knew that fear no more.

Chrysostom's Ministry at Antioch.

His Sermons on The Statues.

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And with a freedom and boldness that no Christian minister has ever surpassed, he inveighed against the prevailing corruptions in every rank of society, even when they appeared under a Christian guise. That he would do so was clearly enough foreshadowed in the noble and outspoken application which he made of the calamity itself at the time of Flavian's mission.

Op. II. 176. *ed Ben.* Hom. ad Pop. Ant. 17.

'Do you grieve,' he said, when Antioch had been degraded to the position of a town under the jurisdiction of Laodicæa[1], 'because the dignity of our city has been taken away? Learn then wherein the dignity of a city lieth; and know, that if the city be betrayed not by its people, no one hath power to deprive it of its dignity. It consisteth not in the rank of metropolis, nor in the size and beauty of its buildings, nor in the number of its columns and public walks, nor in the precedence over other cities;—but in the piety of the people. This is the dignity, ornament, and security of a city: and if it have not piety, it is of all cities the most degraded, though honours innumerable be conferred upon it by the Emperors. Would ye know the true dignity of your city, and be made acquainted with its ancestral glories? I will inform you of them, not only that you may know, but likewise emulate them. It was at Antioch that the disciples were first called Christians. This is a singular honour: enjoyed not even by the city of Romulus. Wherefore Antioch may confront the whole earth, because of this love for Christ, because of this fearless confession of its faith.'

On the degradation of the city.

On the amnesty.

In a strain of cheerful exhortation he congratulates and advises them upon the arrival of the messenger, with the news from Flavian of the entire amnesty[2]:

[1] Chrysost. *Hom. ad Pop. Ant.* XVII. (II. 176, ed. Ben.)
[2] *Hom. ad Pop. Ant.* XXI. (II. 220, ed. Ben.)

'As ye then did when ye crowned the market with wreaths of flowers, kindled the lights, extended the carpets before the workshops, and celebrated as it were the birthday of a city, do always, but in a different manner. Crown, not the forum with flowers, but your souls with virtue. Kindle the light of good works in your souls; and rejoice with a spiritual gladness. Let us not cease to thank God for the mercy which He hath shewn to us; and let us confess our great obligations to Him.'

The Sermones in Annam, T. III. *ed. Ben.*

A very profitable portion of the remains of Chrysostom, with regard to an understanding of his ministerial position at Antioch, is the series of six sermons[1] on the example of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, as the pattern of a Christian wife and mother. Two of these sermons have been translated into Latin by Erasmus: who also translated the three on David and Saul, many parts of which are in a very high style of pathetic eloquence. In the fourth sermon of this course on Hannah he powerfully contrasts the impatience of the sight-seeing multitude when at church with their unwearied endurance at the Hippodrome[2]:

Erasmus's translation.

The difference between the worshippers at Church and the sight-seers at the Hippodrome.

'Here we behold even the chief place in the church unoccupied; but there not only the hippodrome, but also the upper seats, houses, roofs, steep walls, and a thousand other places are filled. And neither poverty, nor business, nor infirmity of body, nor any other hindrance, restraineth this incontrollable madness. But men weighed down by age hasten thither more eagerly than the young, who are in life's full vigour: disgracing hoar hairs, dishonouring their advanced years, and bringing ridicule upon old age itself.

[1] *Sermones in Annam.* The second and third are those which Erasmus translated.

[2] Chrysostom, *Serm. in Annam,* IV. (IV. 660 ed. Ben.)

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Op. IV. 460. (*ed. Ben.*)

When they enter this place, they resemble squeamish persons, and feel their attendance irksome: they fall asleep while hearing the divine word; and plead in their defence the confined space, the suffocating heat, and similar excuses. But there, while the sun striketh upon their bare heads[1], while they are trodden upon, pushed to and fro, pressed together with great violence, and suffering a thousand other inconveniences, they seem to be as much regaled, as though they tarried amid fragrant meadows.'

No special virtue in the nature of a consecrated place.

He points out, in the same sermon, that though Hannah went into the temple to pour out her prayer, there is no special virtue in the nature of a consecrated place, merely as such; and the sober and discreet words of this ancient Preacher have a living significance in the present day:

Op. IV. 667. (*ed. Ben.*)

'Let us not allege as an excuse [for omitting the duty] that no house of prayer is near: since, if we be watchful, the grace of the Spirit hath made ourselves to be the temples of God. For our worship is not such as existed formerly amongst the Jews, having many outward ceremonies, and requiring much performance. The Jew, when about to pray, needed to go up into the temple to buy a dove, to take in his hands wood and fire: to lay hold of a knife and stand near the altar: and to perform many other ordinances. But with *us* no such things are required. Wherever thou art, thou bearest with thee altar, knife, and victim: being thyself priest, altar, and sacrifice. Wherever thou art, thou mayest erect an altar, if only thou manifest a sober will. The place shall be no hindrance, the time no obstacle: and, though thou bend not thy knees, nor beat thy breast, nor raise thine

[1] See below the passage from *Hom. Gen.* VI.

hands to heaven, but only discover a warm heart, thy prayer shall be deficient in nought[1].' CHAP. IX.

Extempore allusion to passing events.

The Homilies and Sermons on Genesis contain some good illustrations of the readiness with which Chrysostom made extempore allusion to passing events, and the skilful way in which he worked out such allusions:

'The concourse of clouds,' he says on the appearance of a sudden storm, 'has made it somewhat overcast for us to-day. But the presence of our teacher[2] has rendered it brighter. For the sun, when he darts his beams from the midst of the central summit of heaven, casts no such light upon our bodies, as the presence of paternal affection pours a brilliance into our souls, darting its beams from the midst of the [episcopal] throne[3].' *Op.* IV. 613. (*ed. Ben.*)

The lighting of the lamps.

The fourth Sermon on texts from Genesis has in it the curious passage about the lighting of the lamps during divine service:

'Let me beg you to arouse yourselves, and to put away that sluggishness of mind. But why do I say this? At the very time when I am setting forth before you the Scriptures, you are turning your eyes away from me, and fixing them upon the lamps, and upon the man who is lighting the lamps. Oh! of what a sluggish soul is this the mark, to leave the preacher and turn to him. I too am kindling the fire of the Scriptures: and upon my tongue there is burning a taper, the taper of sound doctrine. Greater is this light, and better, than the light that is yonder. For, unlike that man, it is no wick steeped in oil, that I am lighting *Op.* IV. 597. (*ed. Ben.*)

[1] Chrysost. *Sermones in Annam*, IV. (IV. 697, ed. Ben.)

[2] The Bishop Flavian, who was just returned from his Mission to Theodosius.

[3] *Gen. Serm.* VIII. (IV. 613, ed. Ben.)

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up. I am rather inflaming souls, moistened with piety, by the desire of heavenly discourse[1].'

The theatre and the Communion.

Again, in the Third Homily on David and Saul, having perceived among the audience some persons who had attended the Theatre instead of the Church the Sunday before, he opens the discourse by expressing his regret that he could not distinguish them with certainty, that so he might exclude them from a participation in the Holy Communion. He could have found a cordial assent to a measure of this sort in the ardent and enthusiastic spirit of Tertullian[2].

Op. IV. 695. (*ed. Ben.*)

The following extract contains an allusion to the noble proportions, and interior accommodation of the Church where they were assembled.

Ibid. IV. 56.

'Here, if we do but a little prolong our discourse, many are annoyed and ill at ease, pleading pain and fatigue of body, all the while that this wonderful roof is affording them ample comforts: for they can feel no inconvenience, either from cold, or from rain, or from the violence of the winds: but there, though the rain comes pouring down in torrents, and the winds blow violent gusts, and the sun at other times darts down its beams full warm upon them, they will linger on, not one or two hours only, but the greater part of a whole day[3].'

Chrysostom and Eutropius.

One of the first acts of Chrysostom in connexion with political affairs, after his removal to Constantinople, and one of the noblest in his long and noble life, was the protection of the fallen minister Eutropius. The army had forced the imbecile Arcadius to sign the sentence of dismissal; and no sooner had the imperial favour been withdrawn than Eutropius fled to that Asylum, the limits of

[1] *Gen. Serm.* IV. (IV. 597, ed. Ben.) [2] See above, Chap. VI.
[3] *Hom. Gen.* VI. (IV. 56, ed. Ben.)

whose sanctity had been invaded by his own decree[1]. The manly courage of Chrysostom, however, and his great influence, saved the wretched favourite for a time. He was banished to Cyprus[2]; but afterwards brought back and beheaded at Chalcedon.

The following is an extract from Chrysostom's first Sermon on Eutropius, delivered the day after the fallen minister had taken sanctuary in the church[3]:—

Op. III. 394. (*ed. Ben.*)

'This day a most brilliant spectacle.....is presented to my eyes. The church is thronged as at Easter; and this culprit, with a silence more eloquent than the trumpet's voice, summons the city hither.

The reverse.

'Ye virgins, abandoning your chambers, ye matrons, quitting your retirements, ye men, leaving the forum empty, have flocked together here: that you might behold the true nature of man demonstrated, the nothingness of human grandeur publicly revealed, and yon meretricious countenance, which yesterday and the day before was bright with the colours of youth, now betraying the grim wrinkles of age and disease. This reverse of fortune, like a dripping sponge, has wiped away the paint of the fictitious charm. Such is the potency of this hapless day. It has rendered the proudest of nature's tyrants the meanest, the most abject of her children.

The lesson to the rich man.

'Let the rich man enter here: abundant will be his gain. For, beholding the common scourge of nations degraded from such an elevation, tamed of his savage nature, and become more timid than the most timid animals, bound without fetters to that pillar, and girt

[1] Milman, *Hist. of Christian.* III. 224.

[2] Quisquis adhuc similes eunuchus tendit in actus,
Respiciens Cyprum desinat esse ferox.
Claudian, *In Eutrop.* II. 75.

[3] Eutropius was cowering under the Altar during the delivery of the Sermon. *Unus tum et asyli et Eutropii defensor fuit Chrysostomus.*

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around with fear as with a chain; he calms the frenzy of his pride, he quells his rising spirit, and learning wisdom concerning man's state, as it is fitting he should, he retires, learning from experience and feeling with conviction, that all flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of the field.

The lesson to the poor man.

'The poor man entering here, and gazing on yon spectacle of woe, accounts not himself as vile, and grieves not that he is poor. Nay, rather, he renders thanks to his poverty, because it hath been to him an asylum most secure, a harbour most tranquil, a citadel girt about with much strength.....It now remains that the application be made unto your hearts. Oh what mercy, what pardon do you expect, if, when the Emperor who has been insulted forgets the injury, you who have sustained no insult can cherish such an enmity. When this assembly shall be dissolved, will you have the hardihood to approach the mysteries, and to repeat that prayer in which we are commanded to say, "Forgive us, even as we forgive our debtors," whilst ye are exacting justice of your debtor?'

The duty of forgiveness.

The tone of Chrysostom during the sessions of the Council of the Oak.

Whatever may have been the cause of the bitter enmity which was borne by Theophilus of Alexandria against Chrysostom—whether a real spirit of rivalry between the two principal sees of the East, or a real conviction that the assumption of authority by Chrysostom during his visitation of Asia Minor was questionable, and ought to be checked, or a private and personal pique of which the cause is unknown to us—that bitter enmity soon became successful hostility. Yet what was the tone of Chrysostom while the 'Council of the Oak' was pending?—

Op. III. 427. (*ed. Ben.*)

'What can I fear[1]? Will it be death? But you know

[1] Chrysostom, *Opera*, III. 427, (ed. Ben.) The extract is from the little *Homilia ante Exsilium*: and the sentiment is repeated again and again in the sermons of that period.

that Christ is my life, and that I shall gain by death. CHAP. IX.
Will it be exile? But the earth and all its fulness is the Lord's. Will it be the loss of wealth? But we have brought nothing into the world, and can carry nothing out. Thus all the terrors of the world are contemptible in my eyes; and I smile at all its good things. Poverty I do not fear. Riches I do not sigh for. *Op.* III. 435.
Death I do not shrink from, and life I do not desire, save only for the progress of your souls.....But you know[1], my friends, the true cause of my fall. It is that I have not lined my house with rich tapestry. It is that I have not clothed me in robes of silk. It is that I have not flattered the effeminacy and sensuality of certain men, nor laid silver and gold at their feet. .....But why need I say more? Jezebel is raising her persecution, and Elias must fly: Herodias is taking her pleasure, and John must be bound with chains: the Egyptian wife tells her lie, and Joseph must be thrust into prison. And so, if they banish me, I shall be like Elias; if they throw me into the mire, like Jeremiah; if they plunge me into the sea, like the prophet Jonah; if into the pit, like Daniel; if they stone me, it is Stephen that I shall resemble; John the Forerunner, if they cut off my head; Paul, if they beat me with stripes; Isaiah, if they saw me asunder.'

And then follow expressions resembling the famous—'Herodias again maddens: again she demands the head of John; again she dances for it.' These words, which are the exordium of a later Sermon, are to be received with great caution. Neander doubts their genuineness[2].

[1] Chrysost. *Opera*, III. 435, (*Cum iret*, &c.)

[2] The Sermon Πάλιν μαίνεται is marked as spurious in Montfaucon's edition. Neander's doubt is thrown into a parenthesis. 'He was hurried along by his indignation at these new plots (*if indeed his language has been reported to us in its original form*) to begin a discourse, &c.' (*Church Hist.* IV. 476). The 'new plots' followed immediately after the affair of the silver statue of Eudoxia.

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His gratitude to God on his restoration.

The following noble expression of gratitude to God in all circumstances whatever, was uttered soon after his return to Constantinople[1]:—

Op. III. 439. (*ed. Ben.*)

'Blessed be the Lord! I said it when I departed. On my return, I repeat it: and I ceased not from saying it in my absence. You remember that on the last day I recalled to you the image of Job, and his words, "Blessed be the name of the Lord for ever." It is the pledge that I left with you as I was departing! it is the thanksgiving that I bring back to you. The situations are different. The hymn of gratitude is the same. In exile I was always blessing. Returned from exile I am blessing still. Winter and summer work to the same end, the fertility of the earth. Blessed be God who allowed me to go forth: blessed again and again, in that He has called me back to you. Blessed be God who unchains the tempest: blessed be God who stills it, and has made a calm.....Through all the diversity of time the temper of the soul is the same; and the pilot's courage has been neither relaxed by the calm, nor overwhelmed by the tempest.....See what the snares of my enemies have done; they have increased affection, and kindled regret for me, and have won me six hundred admirers[2]. At other times it is our own body alone who love me. To-day the very Jews do me honour.....it is not the enemies that I thank for their change of mind, but God, who has turned their injustice to my honour. The Jews crucified the Lord and the world is saved; yet it is not the Jews that I thank, but the Crucified. May they see that which our God sees; the peace, the glory that their snares have been worth to me. At other times the church alone used to be filled. Now the public

[1] Chrysost. *Op.* III. 439. (ed. Ben.)

[2] Alluding to the number of the congregation, or to the surplus on the ordinary number.

square is become the church. All heads are as immoveable as if they were one. All are silent, though no one orders silence. All are contrite, too. There are games in the Circus to-day: but no one assists at them. All flow to the temple like a torrent. The torrent is your multitude. The river's murmur is your voices, that rise up to heaven, and tell of the love you bear to your Father. Your prayers are to me a brighter crown than all the diadems of earth.'

Extracts on The Priestly Office, on Fasting, and on the Presence of God in the House.

These extracts shall now be brought to a close by a selection of three short ones on the following subjects, The Priestly Office, Fasting, and the Presence of God in Social and Domestic Life. It would be very easy to string together what are popularly called 'gems' of eloquence:—passages on prayer, for instance, on the sufferings or triumph of our Lord, on the endurance and blessed exaltation of the martyrs, on the wonders of nature, or the glories of heaven. It has been our intention, however, rather to bring forward extracts, which may be at once specimens of the preacher's oratory, and illustrations of his character and position. With regard to the first of the remaining three, it consists of an antithetical series on the limits of ecclesiastical and secular authority. And it will be remembered that, if these limits are somewhat rigorously stated, no man had a better right than Chrysostom to speak freely and as of authority upon the subject; taking, as he did, the most sublime views of his office, of its mission and of its authority, being, as he was, severe to the last extreme in his demand for purity, blamelessness, and moral superiority to the rest of mankind.

On the Priestly Office.

'Let the king[1] remain within his own boundaries; for the boundaries of royalty are one thing, those of the priesthood another; and these last are greater than the

[1] Hom. in illud, *Vid. Dom.* IV. (VI. 126, ed. Ben.)

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Op. VI. 126. (*ed. Ben.*)

former. The king has received power to administer the things which are in the world, but the right of the priest's office comes down from above. To the king have been committed the things which are present: to me, the things of heaven. When I say to me, I mean to priests.....Bodies have been entrusted to the king, but souls to the priest; the king remits arrears of money, the priest arrears of sins. The one compels, the other exhorts; one enforces a law, the other gives counsel; one wields the arms of the flesh, the other the arms of the spirit; he wages war with Barbarians, but my warfare is against devils. Mine is the mightier princedom.'

On Fasting.

The following simile, on Fasting[1], is drawn out simply enough, but rather more in the sentimental and diluted style of Nazianzen's less worthy passages, than in the energetic manner of Chrysostom. We must, of course, bear in mind that fasting was to him a real duty, a real privilege:—

Op. IV. 581. (*ed. Ben.*)

'Sweet is the spring to sailors, and sweet to tillers of the ground. But not to sailors, and not to tillers of the ground is spring so sweet, as to the lovers of true Wisdom is the season of fasting sweet, the spiritual spring-time of our souls, the real calm of our imaginations. For to husbandmen spring is sweet, because they see the earth then garlanded with flowers, and, like a garment spread over it on every side, the budding growth of the herbs; and to sailors spring is sweet, because they can sail with safety over the broad backs of the sea, now that the waves are levelled, and the dolphins are playing in the deep calm, and are floundering ever and anon against the very bulwarks of the vessel. But sweet to us is the spring of fasting,

[1] Chrysost, *Serm. Gen.* I. 1. (IV. 581, ed. Ben.)

a spring that will soothe within us waves, not of waters, but of ungoverned desires; and will crown us with a garland not made with flowers, but with the graces of the Spirit.'

Lastly, I adduce a passage[1] from the Sermons on chapters in Genesis, the quiet grace of which appears to me equal to anything that has come under my own notice in the remains of either ancient or modern times, and far surpasses many extracts of a more showy kind that are often made from Chrysostom himself. It may seem strange that the same man who delivered the following exhortation should have penned the *Adversus Oppugnatores*. None but a shallow judgment, however, would ground upon the identity a charge of inconsistent thought. We should rather call it an evidence of the utter earnestness that pervaded Chrysostom, the hearty and sympathetic fellowship that he entertained towards every expression whatever in act of that which was morally good and true.

The Presence of God in the House. Op. IV. 619. (*ed. Ben.*)

'Nothing is sweeter than discourse on divine things. Only hear what the Prophet says of it: "How sweet are thy sayings to my taste; beyond honey and the honeycomb to my mouth."

'Set then this honeycomb upon your evening table[2], that you may fill it full of spiritual delight. You

[1] Chrysost. *Serm. Gen.* VIII. 2. (IV. 619) ed. Ben.

[2] We may compare with the whole passage the lines in Cowper's *Conversation:*

'Now their's was converse, such as it behoves
Man to maintain: and such as God approves:
Their views, indeed, were indistinct and dim,
But yet successful, being aimed at him.
Christ and his character their only scope,
Their object, and their subject, and their hope;
They felt what it became them much to feel,
And, wanting him to loose the sacred seal,
Found him as prompt as their desire was true
To spread the new-born glories in their view.'

The thoughts are very similar, also, to those at the close of Latimer's Sermon on *The Marriage in Cana of Galilee.*

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know the custom of rich men; when their meals are over they call in harpists and flute-players. While they are thus turning their private dwelling-houses into theatres, do you make of yours a heaven. And you will do so, not by changing the walls, nor altering the foundations, but by calling down upon your table the very Lord of Heaven. God is not ashamed of meals like these; for where spiritual teaching is, there is temperance, there gravity and godliness: where a husband, and a wife, and children are bound together in harmony and love, and all the bonds of virtue, there is Christ in the midst of them.

'Yes, it is no golden roof, nor splendour of pillars, nor fair beauty of marbles that He seeks; but it is the bloom of the soul, and an excellent shaping of the understanding, and a table furnished with righteousness, and bearing the fruits of mercy.

'And when He beholds a table set out in such wise, quickly does He become a partaker in that company, and makes Himself one among them.'

'Sodom had its towers,' he says elsewhere[1], 'Abram had his tent; yet the angels turned aside from Sodom, and bent their way to the tent. For they sought not a splendid edifice: but they looked around for holiness, the beauty of the soul.'

Neander's remark, that Chrysostom resembles St Paul, and Augustine St John.

It has always seemed to me probable, that if a person who had read only the *lives* of Chrysostom and Augustine, being ignorant of their writings, were to meet with the preface to Neander's First Edition of Chrysostom's Life, he would believe that he had fallen on a misprint. 'The Biographies,' he says, 'of the two great Fathers, Augustine and Chrysostom, *the former of whom may be said to resemble*

[1] Hom. in illud, *Vid. Dom.* IV. (The fourth of five Homilies on the passage in Isaiah vi.: 'I saw the Lord upon a throne.')

St John, and the latter St Paul, afford matter of peculiar interest,' &c. The person whom I am supposing, remembering in connexion with the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans the severe crisis brought on in the soul of Augustine by the predominance of wild passions, and remembering also that the development of Chrysostom had been comparatively a quiet and harmonious one, carried on under the influence of scripture-study and of pious friends and associates, would wish to transpose the words 'former' and 'latter.' He would, probably, be confirmed in this opinion by the circumstance of Augustine's *Confessions* being so largely made use of in the compilations of his life; and indeed, though differences become very prominent on a closer examination, there seems at first to be every resemblance between the spirit of the *Confessions* and the spirit of 'O wretched man.' CHAP. IX.

Its validity.

On an examination of even a small portion of their works, however, we find that the Preface of Neander is not faulty, but only that it is based on a knowledge of the two men, and not alone on a perusal of their lives. We do not know how far the words of St Paul are to bear a literal and personal meaning: and whatever presumption may be allowed us, is decidedly in favour of his having passed a regular and studious youth. Gamaliel was the Libanius of St Paul; and, different as the two cases really were, there was much to be done for Judaism similar to what Libanius hoped that Chrysostom might do for Paganism. But, whatever degree of literal and personal interpretation is to be applied to the text in point, we come to understand on reading the *De Sacerdotio*, and on considering the lofty and severe ideal there drawn and consecrated, what a real sympathy Chrysostom must have had with a conflict such as is described in the seventh of Romans, and how thoroughly a share in it—though not the sort of share which Augustine had—would have come within his own experience.

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The De Sacerdotio.

The *De Sacerdotio*[1] is considered by some critics to have been written when the author was very young. Socrates thinks that he wrote it during his Deaconate: Dupin, with greater probability, assigns it to the period of retirement immediately preceding his entering Deacon's Orders, that is to say, he places it about the year 378. But whenever the great Minister wrote this Treatise on his own holy calling, he was clearly penetrated already with the one deep consciousness that pervades his whole public life. He was in his own eyes,—and he almost shuddered at the responsibility while his soul rose to the dignity—a Priest of the most High God, and an Ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ. Of both characters did he appreciate the very essence: and having laboured by prayer, and fasting, and much solitude, and many tears, to acquaint himself if it might be with the *whole counsel* of God, he *shunned not*[2] —the Homilies are a proof for us—to declare it all.

Chrysostom's Homilies *easily rendered into Tamil.*

I have heard on good authority, that in carrying on the work of evangelization at the present day in Madras, a student of Chrysostom has been in the habit of rendering the Homilies or extracts from them almost *verbatim* into the Tamil Language; and that the experiment has been full of success, attended with ease and profit to the translator, as well as with a ready effect produced upon the people. Now this appears to me to be at once most natural, and to give by illustration a fair summary of Chrysostom's great virtue as a Preacher. *For it is the conscience of man, not his opinions*[3], that he chiefly addresses. It is the fruits of a theology, elevated and purified, that he lays before his hearers. And the technicalities of theology itself he, for the most part, eschews. Moreover in treating Scrip-

[1] Dupin. III. 29.

[2] It is interesting to find Demosthenes using St Paul's very word (*ὑπεστειλάμην*—see Motto of Chap. ix.) in a precisely similar sense:—*οὐ μὴν οἶμαι δεῖν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσφάλειαν σκοπουνθ' ὑποστείλασθαι περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν συμφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι.*—Dem. 14 A. (First Olynthiac.)

[3] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, III. 210.

This illustrates his great virtue as a Preacher.

ture[1], though a perfect master of illustration, he avoids the speculative allegory which had been so common among his predecessors, and continues throughout to be plain, severe, practical.

A man who values his position in the Church of Christ, and with simple childlike spirit yearns towards that yearning bosom, its consolations, and its nourishment, will be aware of a well-spring of dutiful affection uprising within his heart, as he names the name of St John Chrysostom, and thankfully calls him 'Father.'

[1] The following extract bearing on 1 *Cor. Hom.* 33 is curious, as recording a probable 'slip' on the part of Chrysostom relating to the authorship of the Psalms:—

'In his 33rd Homily on 1 Cor. [Chrysostom] has these words: "Especially not all things spoken by David in the Psalms are spoken in the person of David. For it is he himself who saith, *I have dwelt in the tents of Kedar, and by the waters of Babylon there we sat and wept.* But he never saw Babylon nor the tents of Kedar." There may not be sufficient grounds to determine accurately who was the author of either of these two Psalms cited by Chrysostom: but there can be no doubt in the mind of any reflecting person, even though he be not skilled in the criticism of the Book of Psalms, that the 137th cannot be anterior to the captivity of Babylon.'—*Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1853.

[In a review of *Hippolytus and His Age.*]

CHAPTER X.

The Oratorical Period Proper. (3) *Augustine.*

Ὦ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως Θεοῦ.

ST PAUL.

Augustine, by the extraordinary adaptation of his genius to his own age, the comprehensive grandeur of his views, the intense earnestness of his character, his inexhaustible activity, the warmth, vigour, and perspicuity of his style, had a right to command the homage of Western Christendom.

MILMAN.

AUGUSTINE.

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Augustine.

		A.D.
Aurelius Augustinus	born at Tagastè in Numidia	354
,,	joins the Manichees ..... about	373
	[having turned from immoral habits at Carthage[1], and devoted himself to philosophy.]	
,,	Professor of Rhetoric at Tagastè...	375
,,	,, ,, at Carthage	376?
,,	Faustus at Carthage	384
	[Augustine joins the Academics, and writes *De Apto et Pulchro*. He leaves the Manichees.]	
,,	Augustine at Milan	384
,,	conversion to the Catholic Faith	386
	[Monica dies.]	
,,	returns to Africa	388
,,	ordained Presbyter on visit to Hippo	389
,,	consecrated Bishop-Coadjutor	395
,,	,, full Bishop	396
,,	conference with the Donatists	411
,,	Controversy with Pelagius begins	412
	[Rome taken by Alaric, 410. This causes the Pagans to attack Christianity, and casts a spirit of despondency over the Christians. On which account]	
,,	the 'City of God' written	413—426
,,	Genseric enters Africa	429
	[under pretence of supporting the Donatists, Hippo besieged. The siege lasts 14 months, in the third of which number, Augustine]	
,,	dies ..... Aug. 28,	430

[1] In consequence of a perusal of Cicero's *Hortensius*. (Aug. Conf.)

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WE will begin by giving some account of Hippo, the see which, though humble, was adhered to by Augustine with a faithful tenacity throughout his whole Christian ministry.

Hippo Regius.

Hippo Regius, now called Bona, was a considerable city on the Numidian coast of Northern Africa. The name 'Regius' was given to it in consequence of its having been granted by the Romans to King Masinissa, who made it a royal residence. The name was also a distinctive one: as there was another Hippo—Hippo Zarytus —further to the East.

The coast of Northern Africa.

The Episcopal seat of Augustine held no mean rank among the cities of North Africa, though it suffered terribly in the Vandal invasion. It would have been reasonable to suppose, with regard to the whole of that coast, that its position relatively to the untamed barbarians of Northern Europe would be comparatively secure; that it would prove, as it were, an Ulysses to the barbarian Cyclops; that even when devoured, it would be devoured, so to speak, kindly: in other words, that it would be overrun by barbarians who had almost ceased to be barbarians, and who had been tempered and softened by previous contact with the civilised nations who lay between them and Africa. This, however, was not the case. During the whole of Augustine's episcopate, excepting only the last year, it did indeed present the appearance of being one of the most happy, or the least unfortunate portions of the Roman Empire. That year reversed the whole aspect of affairs. In 429 Genseric crossed the narrow seas: and, after the defeat of Count Boniface, the seven fruitful[1] provinces, from Tangier to Tripoli, were completely overwhelmed[2]. Hippo sustained a siege of fourteen months, Augustine refusing to quit his post, but being gently

The siege of Hippo.

[1] Hor. *Carm.* I. 1, 10 and III. 16, 31, 'Libycis areis,' 'Fertilis Africæ.'
[2] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, VI. 20.

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released when only three months had past. Gibbon, who thinks that a consideration of what was advantageous to the Vandals themselves must lead us to regard the accounts of their barbaric measures as greatly exaggerated, admits nevertheless that the calamities of war appeared in a horribly aggravated form.

The internal capabilities of the country.

It is pleasant to turn from the external calamities to the great internal capabilities and resources of this region. The western part of the north belt of Africa is the most favoured region of the whole continent. Its coast, unlike the straight flat shore of the eastern half of the belt, is lofty, picturesque, and (comparatively) deeply indented with harbours. One of the best of these was that of Hippo Regius. Juvenal mentions[1] the *umbriferi saltus* of Tabraca: and Hippo was perhaps equally mountainous, and equally woody. The modern Bona[2] is built at the foot of a hill which rises to the north and north-west of the town; the hill being part of a coast-range. Into its bay flows the *Seiboos*, anciently *Ubus*, one of the many streams which, never appearing in prominence as great rivers, yet beautify and fertilize the northern belt of Africa.

The climate.

The climate of Hippo, in common with the rest of the country, is more splendid than happy: the combined effects of much wood, moderate water, a neighbouring desert, and a neighbouring sea, operating upon it. It is far more salubrious than that of the western coast; more genial and tolerable than that of the east and south. Bona (the name being corrupted from Hippôn) is now in the possession of the French; it has a population of ten thousand, six thousand of whom are Europeans. The mud-

The modern town.

[1] Juv. *Sat.* x. 194.

[2] Hippo was finally destroyed by the Arabs in the 7th century: the new town, two miles distant, was raised from the old materials; and it contained, in the 16th century, about three hundred families of industrious, but turbulent, manufacturers.—Gibbon, VI. 22.

choked harbour has been cleared; the town fortified; and it now has a character far more French than African.

Characteristics of Augustine.

In this African town there laboured, for the last few years of the fourth century and the first thirty of the fifth, a man quite of another type than that of the great Oriental commemorated in the preceding chapter: of another type, moreover, than his own predecessors in the direction of Western Christendom; if, indeed, Tertullian and Cyprian, provincials by birth like Augustine, but men who continued to be provincials, can be said to have held the spiritual direction of the Western world in any sense in which Augustine held it. He was a man whose grasp of intellect was enormous, his energy intense, and, above all (a feature which Milman has pointed out), his appearance was happily timed, so that his mental action was precisely suited to the period during which he lived. After his earlier phasis of Manicheeism, he passed through a period of Platonism to a cordial acceptance of the Christian Faith. Tennemann[1] has worked out a little summary of his tenets, as they manifested themselves before the great mind of Augustine came into collision with Pelagianism, and was driven, by influences arising out of that collision, to a more confident dogmatism, a more defined system. The works which Tennemann, writing it must be remembered not altogether unbiassed, has employed chiefly in the compilation of his summary, are the *De Arbitrio Libero*, the *De Quantitate Animæ* (a most remarkable work), and some parts of the *De Civitate Dei*. He finds the necessary existence of God; His manifestation as Creator of the world, and as the Eternal Law of Truth and Right; His design that all reasonable beings shall reach happiness through the practice of virtue, and consequently His endowment of them with reason and free-will, the use of

Augustine before his collision with Pelagianism.

[1] *Manual of the History of Philosophy*, § 233.

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which is committed to the option of the agent. He finds, further, that man has a certain intuitive ideal perception of God; and that God is in fact, according to Augustine, the *summum bonum* of the spiritual world, to whom we labour to reunite ourselves. Augustine's theory of the Universe appears to be, according still to Tennemann, a perfect sum of existences, comprising all possible beings in all possible degrees. By this theory he would obviate many a difficulty that was vexing the Oriental mind; for instance, he would explain the existence of evil men, as a necessary complement to the sum of the Universe.

His later system.

After the disputes with Pelagius, Augustine entirely remodelled this system, denying that man is possessed of free-will, so far as the doing of good is concerned, but not as affects the commission of evil; and deducing the dogmas of Absolute Predestination and Irresistible Grace[1]. It is from this later system, which is what is commonly understood by the term Augustinianism, that so much of modern divinity has been derived. It underlies the popular theology[2] of most of the protestant sects; it was reduced by Luther into a system, less logical and complete, perhaps, but less discrepant with the real spirit of Augustine, than the more uncompromising Calvinism; and Jansenius moulded it into the Roman Catholic doctrine.

Niebuhr's remarks.

To this summary of his mental and religious development we may add the brief and general critique of Niebuhr[3], who says that St Augustine possessed a truly philosophic mind; and that he was as much guided by a desire to form an unbiassed conviction as any other of the great philosophers. In addition to this, he calls his language 'very noble;' and says that, though not witty like St Jerome,

[1] The books of the *De Civitate Dei*, referred to by Tennemann, at this point, are (X. 10), (XV. 21), (XXI. 12), (XXII. 30).

[2] Milman, III. 264.

[3] Niebuhr, *Lectures*, III. 339.

he is truly eloquent. A little higher on the same page he applies the term 'giants' to these two Saints.

I shall proceed now to give a short account of two among Augustine's vastly voluminous writings; nor need it excite surprise if the *De Civitate Dei*, the first of the two, should be found to occupy considerably less space in the consideration, than the second, which is forty or fifty times smaller; namely, the Fourth Book of the *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. The object is, to get the grandeur of conception in the mighty work, which occupied thirteen years[1] of Augustine's lifetime, brought out before our eyes in something like bold relief; and then to turn to the minuter details of the *De Doctrinâ* IV., which contains for us a truly valuable collection of rules and suggestions on preaching. The remarks on the first are borrowed chiefly from Milman[2]; the analysis of the second I have carefully made from the small Tauchnitz edition of the *De Doctrinâ* and the *Enchiridion*. The Benedictine heading to the Fourth Book is complete as far as it goes: but it was hardly to be supposed that a treatise of thirty-one chapters should be adequately described for purposes such as the present in the space of seven or eight lines.

Two representative portions of Augustine's works.

The capture of Rome by Alaric in 410 had appalled the whole Empire. Murmurs were very widely heard, impeaching the new religion as the cause of this catastrophe; and Pagan ceremonies were actually performed in the hour of peril, to avert at the last moment, if yet that might be, the impending ruin. The Roman aristocracy were scattered over the world: and were quite sure for every reason to spread the notion of alienated deities as the cause of the disastrous overthrow. The feeling of uneasiness, then, was becoming general, and this last stir of men's hearts on behalf of the dying or dead superstitions required some sort of *quietus*, when Augustine stepped forward; and in the great work

The occasion of the De Civitate Dei.

[1] A.D. 313—426. [2] Milman, III. 278—282.

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which bears the name of the *City of God*, pronounced at once the funeral oration of the ancient Society, and the gratulatory panegyric on the birth of the new. The design is, therefore, divided into two great portions. The first ten books are devoted to the question of the connexion between prosperity and the Pagan religion. Five treat of the influence of Paganism in this world, and five of the same influence in the world to come. He denies the necessary connexion of worldly prosperity and divine favour; he also denies the exemption of the old Romans from disgrace and distress, in right of the worship paid to their ancient gods; and ascribes their former success to valour and virtue, their ruin to proud ambition and enervating vice. His whole force of intellect is employed in the last half of this decade, not so much in overthrowing the old popular religion, which he despises, as in combating the mystic Platonism of a later period. He had the warrant of his own experience that Platonism was a worthy antagonist.

Its design. The first decade is destructive.

The last twelve books are constructive.

The last twelve books are, on the contrary, *constructive.* They 'place in contrast the origin, the pretensions, the fate, of the new city, that of God; he enters at large into the evidences of Christianity; he describes the sanctifying effects of the faith; but pours forth all the riches of his imagination and eloquence on the destinies of the church at the Resurrection[1].' A new social system had emerged from the ashes of the old; and this system was to go on fighting its way, until the whole world itself has experienced a total change. He has most ably avoided, in treating of the Resurrection, the material grossness of Chiliastic theories as one extreme, and the subtle unrealities of Pantheism as another.

I now proceed to analyse, chapter by chapter, the Fourth Book of the Treatise, *De Doctrinâ Christianâ;* and I think it will appear that Augustine, whose mind was compre-

[1] Milman, III. 281.

hensive enough to originate and to carry out the very splendid design just described, possessed also the sagacity requisite to point out the best practical rules for himself and for those of less power than he had, in the matter of preaching the Gospel.

ANALYSIS.

Pref. Augustine has already written three books, 'Of finding out[1].' He will now essay a last, 'Of setting forth.' [*De Inveniendo. De Proferendo*]. De Doctr. Christ. IV.

§ 1. He warns off any who expect to gain mere precepts of Rhetoric.

§ 2. Yet Rhetoric is useful, and should be enlisted on behalf of the Truth.

§ 3. The Art of Rhetoric should be acquired by a man when young; and chiefly by hearing good models. But the study of Ecclesiastical Literature, both canonical and extra-canonical, is of incalculable benefit. It *may* make men able to speak well. But, if not that, it may do better; and cause them to act well.

§ 4. The preacher, therefore, as a champion of the true faith and an opponent of error, *should bend all his best efforts to teaching good and unteaching evil.* Subordinately to this end, he may be called on to employ various styles of address [*e. g.* simple narrative, entreaty, rebuke, animated appeal, &c.] according as the hearer is to be merely instructed, or roused to a practical sense of what he knows already.

§ 5[2]. It is far better to speak with true knowledge (sapienter) than with mere Art (eloquenter). And a man is said to speak with more or less of true know-

[1] Cf. *De Doctr. Christ.* I. 1. 'There are two things on which all treatment of the Scriptures depends; the method of *finding out* what is to be understood, and the method of *setting forth* what has been understood.'

[2] Cf. *De Doctr. Christ.* I. 5.

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ledge, as he has made a greater or less advance in the study of the Scriptures. This Scripture-knowledge may go a great way as a substitute for artistic eloquence. But an union of the two is rather desirable.

§ 6. The question may be raised, 'Are the authors of the Scriptures possessed of true knowledge merely, or are they eloquent as well?' Augustine discerns in them an eloquence of their own; as truly suited to their holy character as a young man's talk is suited to youth, and an old man's to age. So perfect is the congruity in passages *recognised* as eloquent, that the words seem less to have been chosen by the author, than to have belonged by a kind of necessity to the subject.

§ 7. [An examination of three passages, Rom. v. 3 ff.; 2 Cor. xi. 16 ff; Amos vi. 1 ff.] The examination goes on to prove the congruity spoken of in the last chapter: and the passages are explained as presenting an union of 'sapientia' and 'eloquentia[1].'

§ 8. With regard to the obscure parts of Scripture, the minister is by no means to allow himself in any imitation of them. *Perspicuity is to be the aim of him who would 'set forth' well.*

§ 9. Certain points which it is not wise to bring forward in public assemblies may be expounded in private, provided that *clearness* not *artistic merit* be regarded in the exposition.

§ 10. The idea of clearness is expanded in a series of most useful practical remarks, the spirit of which is thus summed up; 'that he is the best preacher, who provides that his hearer hears the truth, and that what he hears he understands.'

§ 11. [A very suggestive little chapter.] The province

[1] Absolute truthfulness and relative beauty.

of didactic eloquence is *to bring to light what is hidden:* and, however roughly this may be done, the intelligent hearer will value its *being* done. What is the use of a golden key, if it will not act; and what the disadvantage of a wooden one, if it will? Still, to change the simile, some intellectual food must always be served up spiced. This leads to

§ 12. A description of Cicero's *dictum*[1], 'probare necessitatis est, delectare suavitatis, flectere victoriæ.' The paramount importance of truthful teaching is insisted on.

§ 13. Additional charms are not to be neglected; but all is to be held subservient to the great end, viz. *of bending the hearer to action.* And *that* is the preacher's victory.

§ 14. Attractiveness in preaching must always be tempered (1) by sound doctrine, and (2) by gravity. With regard to the first, Jeremiah v. 30 points to a period in the Jewish Church when sound doctrine was sacrificed to a meretricious eloquence. ('*The prophets prophesy falsely*, &c.') Ah! how far more terrible, more pure, more forcible is this rebuke, than any of the rebuked strains of eloquence could have been! And as to the lack of gravity, even where orthodoxy is preserved, we may learn from an epistle of Cyprian[2] how bad the result is even in the case of so great a Father; always remembering that Cyprian may have had a special reason for here transgressing his usual custom.

§ 15. It is, in truth, more by the Christian fervour of his Sermons than by any endowments of his intellect,

[1] Cicero, Orat. XXI. Augustine has substituted the word 'docere' for 'probare.'

[2] Cyprian. *Epistol.* I. *ad Donatum.* It is curious to notice the way in which Augustine regards the passage, which begins with the word *Petamus,* about 12 lines from the commencement, and ends at *tecta fecerunt.*

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that the minister must hope to inform the understandings, and catch the affections, and bend the will of his hearers. The Holy Spirit will come to his assistance. Promised (Matt. x. 19) to those who for Christ were delivered over to persecution, it will not be withheld from those who are engaged in delivering Christ into the hands of learners.

§ 16. Nothing, however, is more unwise in itself, and more alien to the spirit and to the letter of the Divine Economy, than to suppose that the gifts of the Spirit justify us in relaxing our efforts.

§ 17. In brief, then, this is the legitimate object of every one who endeavours by speaking to persuade men of what is good; namely, that he be so heard as to[1] inform the understanding, secure the affections, and bend the will of his auditors. Cicero seems to hint at this triple division[2] when he says, *Is erit igitur eloquens* (*ut idem illud iteremus*) *qui poterit parva summissè, modica temperatè, magna graviter dicere.*'

§ 18. In Christian Oratory, however, there can be no such distinctions of subject, *morally*, as are implied in the terms 'little,' 'middling,' 'great.' The radii of a small ring are as much equal to one another as those of a large-sized disk. And in like manner, Righteousness is one and the same, in that which is little and in that which is much. No believer would think of undervaluing our Lord's promised reward to humble charity[3], merely because a cup of cold water is in itself trifling, and almost valueless.

§ 19. Bearing in mind, therefore, the importance of his subject-matter[4], we may safely lay down the following

[1] To be heard, that is, *intelligenter, libenter, obedienter.* Or, according to the other formula,

probare } , delectare, flectere.
docere }

[2] Cicero, *Orator.* 29.

[3] St Matt. x. 42.

[4] 'That it is *always magna*, never *parva* or *modica*, never of less than momentous interest, in a moral point of view.'

distinctions of style to be observed by the preacher, according to the several exigencies of application. Is he conveying instruction? he should use the low and gentle style. Is he bestowing praise or blame? the even and regulated style. Is he rousing the *sluggish or diseased*[1] will to a performance of duty? the lofty and impressive. CH. X.

§ 20. Examples of all these styles are extracted from the writings of St Paul. The low and quiet (*submissa dictio*) is illustrated from Gal. iv. 21 ff. and iii. 15 ff.; in the first of which passages the Judaizing Galatians are met by an allegory; and in the second the redemption of the world through Christ is vindicated against the exclusive claims of the special covenant.

Several passages are brought forward in explanation of the even and regulated mode of speech (*temperata dictio*); the chief of them being Rom. xii. 1, xii. 6[2], xiii. 6, xiii. 12[3].

The lofty and impressive style (*grande dicendi genus*) is nobly represented by 2 Cor. vi. 2[4], and Rom. viii. 28 ff[5]. And the chapter is brought to a close by an extract from Gal. iv. 10 ff[6], which is characterised by Augustine as the one 'lofty' passage in a production, the general tone of which is 'low and quiet,' diversified by the 'even and regular' style at the beginning and the end.

§ 21. To these passages are subjoined extracts from SS. Cyprian and Ambrose, each Father being made to illustrate all three styles of speaking[7].

[1] A distinction which hints at a very important variety of means to be employed by the skilful Preacher.

[2] Having then gifts.....one toward another.

[3] The night is far spent.....lusts thereof.

[4] Behold, now is the accepted..... possessing all things.

[5] We know that all things work .....Christ Jesus our Lord.

[6] Ye observe days.....stand in doubt of you.

[7] There is no need of drawing up

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§ 22. A variety of usage should be employed, one style being made to relieve another. But, above all, care must be taken not to prolong the 'lofty and impressive' style beyond judicious limits. The very strain upon the mind which it involves, and upon which its effect depends, cannot be long kept up.

§ 23. Care should be taken in the *method* of interchange. The 'even' is the very foundation of the 'lofty,' and the 'low and quiet' suits well with either of the others. It should be chiefly used, however, where there is a knot to be untied, or where an effect is wanted to be produced by the supervention of one of the more powerful styles upon it.

§ 24. The legitimate effect of the impressive is not to draw down men's approbation, but to move their feelings. *It is the tear and not the shout*, that forms its proper result. Augustine brings forward as an instance the effect of his own words in quelling a tumult in Mauretanian Cæsarea[1]. The 'low' is best in all cases of instruction or of proof, as distinct from active influence. But, at best, these styles are only imperfect means to an end: and

§ 25. The End, *i. e.* Right Persuasion, is all in all.

§ 26. All the three styles are mutually interdependent. It is a false principle that would lead us so to separate them, as that *one* should be regarded as the sole instrument in mastering the understanding, *one* the affections, *one* the will.

a complete list of these places. They are chiefly taken from Cyprian's *Letters* and from his Treatise *De Habitu Virginum;* and from the treatises of Ambrose, entitled *De Virginibus* and *De Spiritu.*

[1] This passage fixes the chronology of the *De Doctrinâ.* Augustine alludes to the event of his journey to Cæsarea as 'eight years ago.' But we know it to have taken place in 418. Therefore this treatise was written in the year 426, just four years before the death of the great Prelate. It thus gives us the results of his most mature experience.

§§ 27, 28, 29. But, more important than anything else is the Life of the Preacher: and no rules of Art will ever have the least chance of supplying the void which must result from an unsoundness in that.

§ 30. In conclusion, let not prayer be forgotten. Did Esther pray for an ἐῦρυθμον λόγον, when pleading for the temporal safety of her people? And shall we neglect to do the same when the eternal welfare of mankind is at stake?

§ 31. The Book is long [alluding, of course, to all four Parts, of which this Lib. IV. is the last and slightly the shortest], but perhaps not too long. And now, let thanks be rendered to God for what has been accomplished in it.

The Tract De Catechizandis Rudibus.

To the principles and practical advice furnished by this most Christian treatise, we could find no more fitting sequel than is furnished by a passage in the Tract, *De Catechizandis*. Two specimen sermons are contained in the latter part of this Treatise, the one twenty-six chapters in length (24—49), the other four (52—55.) It appeared on the whole that a far clearer insight was to be obtained into the mind of Augustine on the subject of preaching by a minute review of the book just analyzed, than by any detailed examination of these Sermons. Still the *De Catechizandis* abounds with instructive and characteristic passages, and the following is certainly not one of the least instructive[1]:

De Catech. 13.

'There are moreover some who come fresh from the most frequented schools of the Grammarians and Orators, men whom you would not think of reckoning among the uneducated, but not any the more among those of the profoundest learning, whose mind has

[1] Augustine, *De Catechiz. Rud.* 13. The Treatise is addressed to Deogratias, a deacon at Carthage.

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been exercised by an inquiry into lofty things. Now when these, who clearly surpass the others in the art of speaking, come to be made Christians, we ought to pay all the more attention to them. For they require to be constantly reminded, that they should clothe themselves in Christian humility; and so learn not to despise those, whom *they may find avoiding faults of conduct more carefully than faults of oratory;* and that, as to a practised tongue, they must no longer venture even to place it side by side with a pure heart, however they may have been accustomed beforetime to place it far beyond. But chiefly such men must be taught to listen to the Divine Scriptures, in such a way that its solid eloquence shall not sound mean to their ears (*sordeat auribus*), only because it is not bombastic:...For it is most especially profitable to these persons to be made aware, that the *thought should be preferred above the word, precisely as the mind is preferred above the body.* The result of which is that they ought to prefer true to elegant[1] sermons, just as they ought to prefer having prudent to having handsome friends.'

Cautions concerning Preaching.

Specimens from the Sermons of Augustine.

I shall now insert a few examples from Augustine's own sermons. The first two are intended to shew how very closely he could keep to his own ideal of *submissa dictio;* the next two furnish specimens of his ordinary mode of exposition in preaching, the first of the two displaying sound sense and laying down a most instructive rule of practical interpretation, the second running into a strange medley of assumption and dogmatic rendering; and the last is brought forward as a specimen of that antithetical exhortation, which was so usual (as we have

[1] [*disertiores*—the productions of an *accomplished* scholarship.] It is surely unnecessary to point out the very close parallel which exists between the whole of this extract and much of *De Doctrinâ*, IV.

seen) among his brethren of the East. He is here speaking of the spiritual conflict, with a deep sense of its reality: CHAP. X.

The spiritual conflict.

'Two[1] principles there are in this one man, Charity and Lust. For Charity, let it be born in thee if it be not born already; and if born, let it be fostered, let it be nourished, let it grow. But as for that Lust, though in this life it cannot utterly be blotted out—for if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves—yet in so far as Lust doth in us live, in that degree do we fail of being free from sin. And, in order that hereafter it [Charity] may be brought to perfection, let Lust be consumed.'

In the following passage we are strongly reminded of some passages in Luther's sermons. The very simplest truths are simply stated;

The love of one's neighbour.

'How[2] loveth he himself, who loveth his flesh, and hateth his soul? To his own calamity, to the calamity of his soul, and of his flesh. And who loveth his soul? Even he who loveth God with all his heart, and with all his mind. Now to such a neighbour as this do I enjoin, "Love ye your neighbours as your own selves." But who, saith one, is my neighbour? Every human creature is he. Have we not each man two parents? Brute beasts of each several race are neighbours one to the other[3], dove to dove, leopard to leopard, serpent to serpent, cattle to cattle; and is not man neighbour to man?'

The language in this coming extract is at first sight rather involved: in which respect Augustine might sometimes have applied to himself his own language in the *De Doctrinâ*, relating to St Paul's occasional complexity of

[1] August. *Serm.* 14 (ed. Sirm.), p. 160.

[2] *Ibid.* 14 (ed. Sirm.), p. 161.

[3] I have adopted in the case of these Sermons the most simple manner of rendering.

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speech. But the sober and wholesome sense of the interpretation needs no pointing out[1]:

'I have said above that there is an obscurity in this passage; namely "He shall possess the Earth, and inhabit my holy mountain." For, if we receive it carnally, we shall not purify ourselves from all pollution of the flesh and of the spirit: and without cause hath God provided for us an object at all, if, because of the possessing of an earthly "mountain," we prepare ourselves to covetousness, and not to holiness. But what ought we to understand by this "mountain"? It is obscure wherefore He spake of a "mountain." Yet if God had forsaken us, he would not in any place say openly what the "mountain" meaneth. *But where he doth say it openly, there love thou the "mountain."* Where he openly commendeth to thee the "mountain," and the Scripture itself revealeth to thee wherefore He speaketh of a "mountain," there love thou it. Moreover, when thou hearest such a "mountain" promised, follow after the promise; *such as thou lovest it when it is plainly revealed, even such understand it when it is obscure*[2].'

A rational scheme of interpretation.

A Sermon on St Paul, though it contains many passages full of beauty and instruction, is yet burdened by the following strange specimen of interpretation, which contrasts unfavourably with the preceding:

'We have heard the words of an Apostle, nay, rather,

[1] August. *Serm.* 12 (ed. Sirm.), p. 131. The verse occurs in Isai. lvii. 13.

[2] The sober sense spoken of in the text obviously belongs only to the *principle* of interpretation here laid down. That Augustine should have found anything 'obscure' in the mention of a 'mountain' in this connexion, or rather that he should have failed to perceive that, in the mouth of Isaiah, such an allusion was the most likely of any to be made, shews one of two things. It either indicates a 'slip' on the preacher's part, similar to that of Chrysostom mentioned in Chap. IX. (*sub fin.*); or else it is an instance of the implicit belief and uncritical spirit with which the early Christians took to themselves all Scripture, as being a direct message of God to *them*.

through the Apostle we have heard the words of Christ, speaking by him whom from a persecutor he made a preacher, smiting him and making him whole; slaying and giving life; He, the Lamb slain by the wolves, and then making lambs out of wolves. For it had been foretold in that glorious prophecy, when Jacob, the holy Patriarch, was blessing his sons, laying hold of things present, but looking into things to come; it had been foretold, I say, what should come to pass in Paul. For Paul, as he himself doth testify, was of the tribe of Benjamin. Now, when Jacob in blessing his sons had come to Benjamin to bless him, he saith of him, "Benjamin is a ravenous wolf." What therefore? If he were a ravenous wolf, should he be always ravenous? Not so, surely. But what followeth? "In the morning he shall take the prey, and at evening he shall divide the spoil." This hath been fulfilled in the Apostle Paul, even because it was foretold of him. And now, if it please you, let us see him taking the prey in the morning, and dividing the spoil at evening. "Morning" and "Evening" are the same as if he should have said "at first" and "afterwards." Therefore, let us take them so. "*At first* he shall take the prey, and *afterwards* he shall divide, &c." Look now at the taker of prey. "Saul," he saith, even as the Acts of the Apostles witness, "having received letters from the chief priests, went on his way; that wheresoever he should find followers of the way of God, he might drag them forth, and bring them to be punished; he went out breathing and gaping forth slaughter." Now, this is he when taking his prey in the morning. For, even when Stephen was stoned, Saul also was publicly present to help. And with such zeal did he help them that stoned, that it sufficed him not to

A specimen of morbid exposition.

Fanciful predictions relating to St Paul.

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stone him with his own hands alone. For that he might move in the hands of all that stoned, he himself kept the raiment of all, shewing fiercer rage by helping all, than by stoning with his own hands[1].'

The antithetical exhortation that now follows was pronounced by Augustine on the occasion of the annual festivities at the commencement of the year, which (as we have already seen in the case of Chrysostom) caused so much vexation of spirit to the earnest Church-teachers of that day[2]:—

Exhortation at the time of the New-year's Festival.

'In order to follow the example of the Redeemer, who hath purchased you with his blood, be not conformed to the heathen either in your manners or your actions. They give presents (*strenas*) on the new year; give ye alms. They entertain themselves with the songs of lustfulness; entertain yourselves with the reading of the Scriptures. They hasten to the theatres; hasten ye to the church. They drink; do ye fast. And, if ye cannot fast this day, eat at least with moderation[3]. So shall ye have sung that verse in a becoming manner.'

'That verse' was the 47th of the 106th Psalm—'Save us, O Lord our God; and gather us from among the heathen, to give thanks unto Thy holy name.' Augustine desired that this verse should be always sung on the first day of the year, while the heathen celebrations were going on.

I had intended, but am compelled to forego the intention, to translate as instances of a solemn and quiet beauty

[1] August. *Serm.* 24. (ed. Sirm.) p. 279. He then goes on in the same strain to force the remainder of St Paul's life into a fulfilment of the latter half of the prophecy.

[2] I have taken this passage from Neander's *Life of Chrysostom*, where it is quoted at length, p. 322. I suppose it to occur in the *Enarr. Ps.* cvi.

[3] I can hardly suppose that so obvious a passage as this has not already been ventilated in relation to the ancient practice in Fasting; and merely refer to it in passing as one which appears to me to be worth notice.

in the Sermons of Augustine, part of his 234th and part of his 393rd Sermons. The first of the two is entitled[1] *De Resurrectione Christi secundum Lucam*, and begins with the words 'Cognito enim Christo et ab eis discedente, dixerunt apud se, Nonne cor,' &c. The other[2] sermon opens with a sad and stern tone of rebuke: 'Pœnitentes, pœnitentes, pœnitentes (si tamen estis pœnitentes, et non potius estis irridentes),' &c.

Augustine's 234th and 393rd Sermons.

I had also wished to compare, as a proof of the 'Reasonableness' of Augustine in his method of approaching obscure or disputed points, the whole of the sermon[3] *De Resurrectione Corporum, contra Gentiles.* The following method of quashing a foolish and unprofitable question may serve as a specimen of what I mean. The objection is started, '*Si vitia non resurgant, cur in Christo cicatrices?*' To which Augustine gives the calm and ingenious reply, satisfactory to all but the hankerer after some wonder, or some loophole for self-indulgence, 'In illâ carne cicatrix *vulneris* sanavit *vulnus* incredulitatis.'

His method of dealing with obscure or disputed points.

Further, any one who might wish to get a good notion of the difference between Eastern and Western modes of treating the same subject, would do well to consider three passages on obvious and constantly recurring subjects, all three contained in the fifth volume of the Benedictine Edition. The first is on Hope, the second on the Resurrection, the third on Heaven[4].

A reference to three suggestive passages.

Lastly, of Augustine it may most truly be said, that he, if any man, had had experience of that phasis in the soul's history when 'the tongue cleaves even to the roof of the mouth,' and when silence is kept, 'even from good words.' It was not only his being a Prelate of the West instead of a Prelate of the East, that occasioned the wide difference between himself and Basil, Gregory, or even Chrysostom.

Concluding remarks on Augustine.

[1] Aug. *Serm.* 234, ed. Ben.
[2] *Ibid.* 293, ed. Ben.
[3] *Ibid.* 242, ed. Ben.
[4] *Ibid.* 198, 242, and 56, ed. Ben.

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The intense passion of his temperament, which imparted so much energy to his intellectual operations, and which is often the cause of the rich and vigorous flow of his language, produces also that quiet rejection of rhetorical ornament which we find so prevalent throughout his unpretending Sermons. The *De Civitate Dei* has, as might be expected, a good store of florid language, some specimens exhibiting the very highest style of beauty. But his subject in that case not only was suited to elaborate ornament; it sometimes imperatively demanded the very grandest utterance.

The general tone of Augustine was, however, that of a man who, while he was too sensible to despise the aids of artistic eloquence, was himself for the most part far above them. His words bearing directly upon the subject are tinged with a speaking sadness: eloquence is 'another stream of Babylon[1];' it is one more of the many objects 'quæ amantur et transeunt[2];' it is a mere 'frigus et Aquilo[3],' compared with the genial breezes of God, the 'Auster translatus de cœlo[4].'

[1] *Enarr. in Psalm.* cxxxvi. (cxxxvii. of our Version).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Enarr. in Psalm.* lxxvii. (lxxviii. of our Version).

[4] Some further remarks on Augustine are necessarily reserved for Chap. XII. See p. 195.

CHAPTER XI.

The Oratorical Period Proper. (4) *Cyril of Alexandria, Synesius of Cyrene, and others.*

CYRIL.

πανουργος ὢν καὶ δεινὸς ἄνθρωπος πράγμασι χρῆσθαι.

DEMOSTHENES.

SYNESIUS.

He was a shepherd, and no mercenarie.

CHAUCER.

Cyril.

§ 1. OF Cyril, the nephew and congenial successor of Theophilus, the persecutor of Chrysostom, I shall only bring forward one extract; and that with the sole view of shewing that there was, or at least that there was exhibited in his Sermons, another sort of disposition altogether in him, than that repulsive mixture of a Wolsey and a Gardiner which was the prevailing colour of his life. A violent, persecuting spirit against Jews, pagans, and heretics, an unwearied effort, not to 'take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt for the word' of his blessed Lord, not to 'fetch them home' so far as in him lay to the kind precincts of His flock, but to hunt them down with the half-insane fanatics of the Natron Lakes, and the deadly pertinacity of Peter the Reader—this was one side of his normal character. And another was that unbounded ambition, for which the throne of the Alexandrian Patriarchate was but as a footstool, and which never scrupled to resort to force and to political means, for the sake of securing its ends. Neander[1], who suggests every possible consideration for the extenuation of his conduct, gives it entirely up

His character.

[1] Neander, *Church History*, IV. 134.

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and believes that the less violent commencement of the Nestorian struggle only marked a preparation with cunning policy for the more decided steps which were to follow. And as to the one indelible stain which must for ever attach to the person of the Archbishop, the murder of that young and beautiful daughter of Theon the Mathematician, there is nothing in the caustic narrative[1] of Gibbon, nor in the powerful and enthusiastic tale of Mr Kingsley, that can compare for ominous and convincing accusation with the little chapter in Socrates, beginning, 'There was a woman in Alexandria, by name Hypatia[2].'

Hypatia.

An extract from Cyril's Homilies.

The passage I am now about to quote from the Homilies of Cyril is one which seems hardly to comport with the preacher's general character, and may perhaps be regarded as indicating intervals of more Christian feeling, not however destined to produce any lasting effect upon his acts. The subject is the beautiful one of 'God dealing with us as with children[3]:'—

God dealing with us as with children.

> 'See how, when we become grown-up men we change even the names of things in our dealings with children, and call *bread* by a word peculiar to them, and pronounce *drink* with another sound than that which we use to them who are of a full age; a language different from the one we speak with men of the same years as our own, a kind of foreign tongue fit only for infants and for children. Again, when we mention their clothes to children, we set other names upon

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, VIII. 276. He says, with regard to the sermons of Cyril, that 'in their effect though not in their composition, they might be compared with the works of the Athenian orators.' But in the same sentence he tells us (from Socrates, VII. 13) that friends were not uncommonly posted to lead or second the applause of the congregation.

[2] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 15. Chapters XIII. and XIV. are also full of information about the character of Cyril. Mr Kingsley's compiled or imaginary sermon of Cyril is paralleled by one of Cyprian in a work bearing the initials of Dr John Henry Newman. [*Callista.*]

[3] Cyrilli *Hom. in Jer.* xviii. It is on the first sixteen verses of Chap. xviii.

them too; and frame a sort of childish name. Do we not then descend from our complete and perfect being? If a man were to hear us, would he not say, "That old man is become a fool; this man has forgotten his beard, and his manly age"? Just so hear how God speaks to us as to children; *Behold*, these are the words of the Saviour, *I and the children whom God hath given me.* This is just the language of one stricken in age speaking to a child in the manner of children, or, to speak more emphatically, in the manner of infants[1]; for thus didst Thou take the ways of thy sons, and enduredst the custom of an infant, and didst assume to Thyself their condition.'

A passage from Irenæus compared.

I cannot avoid comparing a beautiful passage of Irenæus[2] quoted by the Chev. Bunsen in his Hippolytus (I. 256): 'Ideo per omnem venit [Christus] ætatem, et infantiliter infans factus, sanctificans infantes, in parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes ætatem: simul et exemplum illis pietatis effectus, et justitiæ et subjectionis; in juvenibus juvenis exemplum juvenibus fiens, et santificans Domino: sic et senior in senioribus, ut sit perfectus magister in omnibus, non solum secundum expositionem veritatis, sed et secundum ætatem, sanctificans simul et seniores, exemplum ipsis quoque fiens.' In the passage of Cyril we have the condescension of the Saviour towards his children, as exhibited in his thoroughly grasping (so to speak) the idea of their condition, before making communications to them of his pleasure; in this of Irenæus, He assumes the conditions of younger and elder life into His own nature, that He may second every precept by example.

Synesius.

§ 2. Synesius[3] was born of a rich and noble family in

[1] βρεφωδῶς opposed to παιδικῶς.

[2] Irenæi *Opera*, II. 37.

[3] My chief authority for this brief notice is M. Villemain (*Tableau de l'Eloquence.*)

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Cyrenaica, about the middle of the fourth century. He received a philosophical education, although Christianity had been long established there; and became the student of Hypatia, afterwards proceeding to Athens. Shortly after the banishment of Chrysostom, he was sent on an embassy to Arcadius: and he prays, in one of his addresses[1], that the Platonic hope of philosophy sharing the empire might be realized in that Emperor. He was plainly not a Christian at this date (about 409). It is hard to fix the year of his baptism, but many years before his election to the bishopric he was married according to Christian usage by Theophilus of Alexandria.

His life at Cyrene.

After this embassy he lived in Cyrenè in wealthy seclusion, occupied with field-sports (which he celebrated successfully in verse), with scientific pursuits, and with the *belles lettres* generally. His ability, displayed in some political disputes, soon drew the eyes of the Church upon him, and he was importuned on all sides to become Bishop. Synesius did not agree with the Platonists, who strove to perpetuate Paganism; but neither did he agree with the Christians in the importance which they attached to dogmatic disputes. His independent mind wished to form a faith for itself, giving up the old fables without entirely siding with the new religion. All this he stated to the Bishop. He spoke, too, of his wife. He would not desert her, nor live unlawfully with her. He honestly enumerated many points on which he could not agree with the Christians, and many defects which he knew to exist in himself. He added, almost with a tone of affection, an allusion to his sports and his dogs, asking how he could bear to give them up?

His elevation to the episcopate.

Still, such was his importance in the eyes of Theophilus, that he was consecrated, and allowed to retain his wife, while his opinions were left almost wholly out of the

[1] Synesii *Opera*, Περὶ βασιλείας.

question. In a short retirement from the public eye soon after this step, it seemed to him that the beauty of Plato's writings derived an additional lustre in his eyes from a perusal of the gospel pages: and he had had time to perceive what a powerful weapon the episcopate might be for the protection of the weak or the unfortunate. CHAP. XI.

He entered, therefore, on the office. His life changed but slightly at first. Philosophy, poetry, and field-sports occupied his time: interspersed only with meditation on the Scriptures, the thorny and subtle controversies which then wearied the people being diligently avoided.

Villemain's view of the Hymns.

M. Villemain believes that we can trace in the Hymns of Synesius the gradual supplanting of reverie by positive faith; the gradual transformation of the poet-sportsman into the Bishop. Others have thought the same: but, from the few that I have read, it would seem to me rather to be the case, that had we not known from independent sources of the progress of such a transformation, we should hardly have gathered it from the evidence afforded in the Hymns[1].

Later years of Synesius.

His courage and ability in the opposition of Andronicus, the *Verres* of Ptolemais, were truly heroic; but the issue of the struggle, and the whole of the latter part of Synesius's life, are enveloped in obscurity. Even the date of his death is not preserved; but it probably must precede **431**, since his brother Euoptius appears in that year among the Bishops at the Council of Ephesus, as his successor in the see of Ptolemais.

[1] The hymn beginning ὑμνῶ σε μάκαρ has had its opening lines thus translated in a little volume, entitled *Scraps of Sacred Verse*, by the Rev. H. Moule:—

'My God, I will address Thee
With loudest hymns of praise;
Then, too, my soul shall bless Thee,
When mute in deep amaze.
For Thou, who kind receivest
Each word to Thee addressed,
The silent thought perceivest,
The feeling unexpressed.
And while we ne'er can know Thee,
And all Thy wondrous ways,
No songs of ours can shew Thee
Thy due return of praise.'

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Illustration of his practical piety.

The whole spirit of his ministrations is represented by his behaviour in the following transaction. Theophilus, of Alexandria, had entrusted to Synesius the arbitration in the case of a Bishop who had appropriated some land by consecration. Stoutly did he refuse to confound superstition and piety. The former was to him a vice with the mask of a virtue; a third sort of irreligion over and above infidelity and immorality. Nothing to him seemed holy or sacred that was not first just and rightful. The consecration of the land did not check him; the spirit of Christianity, he said, was not to draw down the Divine presence by outward ceremonies, but to cause it to become in-dwelling in peaceful and God-devoted hearts. And thus did Synesius magnify his office.

Gaudentius.

§ 3. Of Gaudentius of Brescia we have seventeen sermons remaining, which shew him to have been a man, if not always of strong intellect nor of sound judgment, at any rate of an earnest and active piety. The first ten of these sermons were preached to the newly baptized during Easter-week, and were written out by the Bishop's own hand, at the request of Benevolus, who was so weakened by sickness that he could not be present. The tone of these sermons is sensible and practical. He exhorts the neophytes to lead henceforth a truly Christian life, and to renounce idolatry in all its forms then existing, its enchantments, amulets, auguries, lots, observation of dreams, and funeral festivities. 'Be sober,' he says[1], 'take heed to assemble together at church, give yourselves watchfully to prayer, psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs.' In short, they are much what Confirmation Charges are at the present day, allowing for the changes of the times. He advises married people[2] to a life of continence, and gives advice about domestic economy which may recal a passage

Seventeen sermons extant.

Their sober and practical tone.

[1] Gaudentii *Sermones*, IV. (quoted in Fleury, XX. 14).
[2] *Ibid.* VIII. (Fleury, *ib.*)

of Chrysostom quoted above[1]: 'Wretched are those houses that differ in nothing from theatres: let the house of the Christian be free from anything that is to be found in the train of the Devil.....Let it be sanctified by prayer, and psalms. Let the word of God, and the sign of Christ be in your hearts, in your mouths, on your foreheads, at table, in the bath, in your going out and coming in, in your joy and your sorrow[2].' CHAP. XI.

§ 4. Chromatius of Aquileia, Asterius of Amasea, and Basil the younger, of Seleucia, demand a few words. The first receives high, but not very discriminating, praise from Dupin[3]. It will, perhaps, give a more definite notion of him to record that he was one of the three honoured with epistles by Chrysostom when at Cucusus, and when circulating among influential bishops a statement of his position. The other two friends of the great exile were Innocent of Rome, and Venerius of Milan[4]. *Chromatius.*

The second is said by Dupin[5] to have been in the habit, not of exciting his auditors as great orators do, but of insinuating into their minds Christian truths, and deterring them from vice, by 'a bare picture lively drawn.' This would be good recommendation, if the extracts cited by the panegyrist served at all to substantiate what he advances. As it is, they do but shew how widely the estimate of the Sorbonne Doctor differed from that of the highest received standards in the present day[6]. *Asterius.*

The third was present at the Council of Constantinople, in the year **448**, and at Chalcedon in **451**. Of his works we have forty Homilies remaining. *Basil the Younger.*

[1] P. 158.

[2] Gaudentius was ordained by St Ambrose. Fleury, *ibid.*

[3] Dupin, III. 57.

[4] Fleury, XXI. 49. Cf. Palladius, *Vit. Chrys.* Chap. IV. [p. 14, ed. Montfaucon.]

[5] Dupin, III. 58.

[6] It is proper to remark that the views of the Amasean Prelate were particularly distinct on the supremacy of St Peter. His eighth sermon is a Panegyric on SS. Peter and Paul.

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Photius remarks[1], that 'his discourses are figurative and full of fire. He observes as much as any man whatever an even cadence; and hath joined clearness and pleasure together.' But he goes on to add, that the younger Basil is overstocked with tropes and figures, and leaves upon his readers the impression of a man who did not know how to make Art and Nature accord.

[1] Quoted in Dupin, III. 140.

CHAPTER XII.

A few Remarks on the Christian Preachers of the First Five Centuries, in their relation, (1) *to ancient Models,* (2) *to some Preachers of Modern Europe.*

φρονιμώτεροι εἰς τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἑαυτῶν.

WORDS OF OUR LORD.

ἐγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ σὺ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα ὦσι τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἕν.

IBID.

Rash parallels drawn by admirers of the Fathers.

§ 1. THE unwise extent to which admirers of Patristic eloquence have carried their complimentary parallels is almost incredible. Thus we find the Abbé Auger applying to Chrysostom the title of *L'Homère des orateurs*[1]; a title which goes very far beyond that of the *Milton of Prose*, applied to Jeremy Taylor. And it is no uncommon thing to find allusions to Demosthenes and Cicero as luminaries that have paled before lights such as Lactantius or Basil. *Nescio quid majus nascitur.*

The Fathers cannot stand comparison with the great classical models.

Now it is not only a debt to truth, but it is a measure of obvious policy on the part of those who love the early Christian Preachers, at once and entirely to decline any comparison of their efforts with those immortal ones of Demosthenes and Cicero. Hugh Stuart Boyd[2], the author of a book of extracts selected from the Fathers, of which some use has been made above, has left it on record (p. 294, *Selected Passages*) that in the school of Dr Charles Burney, Chrysostom's work *On the Priesthood* was read as a classic by the boys in the sixth form. The injudiciousness of this proceeding can hardly be too much censured; and probably there is at the present day no Head Master who would give a moment's thought to such a preference. To read a

[1] Quoted in the *Biographie Universelle,* s. v. Chrysostome.

[2] His book is dated 1813.

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Treatise of Chrysostom when the *Leptines* or the *Meidias* or the *Olynthiacs* are at hand, or on the other side the *Phædo* or the *Gorgias*, is to pursue the very readiest course towards vitiating a clever boy's taste in Greek. And this is said with a full consciousness of Chrysostom's real beauty, and of his great value as a witness concerning his times. But on turning from his writings to those of Demosthenes, still more than on leaving Lactantius for Cicero, we are reminded of Augustine's remark with regard to some passages in the Scriptures[1]; and, applying it to the great Pagan Orators, we may say that their words seem less to have been chosen by the artist, than to have belonged by a kind of antecedent necessity to the subject.

Demosthenes.

Mr Grote's remarks.

Mr Grote has interspersed among the chapters of his eleventh and twelfth volumes many passages containing critiques on the political and oratorical character of Demosthenes, the excellence of which is in striking contrast to the poverty of Bishop Thirlwall on this subject. Unqualified praise would seem to be Demosthenes' due as a statesman; and Thirlwall qualifies down to the point of blame; for it is no kindness to a character to censure it and blacken it, and then excuse it by 'contemporary morality.' Mr Grote, useful and full of information, awards to Demosthenes his full meed of praise.

Two points more especially may perhaps be regarded as having been the very breath of inspiration to this great orator; or at any rate as having brought about his wondrous impressiveness; for, despite of the misleading estimate of the rhetor Dionysius[2], and our consequent habit of setting the *practical results* of the Demosthenic eloquence too high, impressive beyond all comparison he certainly was. These points are, his high moral conception, and his ardent patriotism. Dr Schmitz (in the article in Smith's *Biogra-*

[1] August. *De Doct. Christ.* IV. 6.
[2] Grote, *History of Greece*, XI. 460.

phical Dictionary) mentions with particular emphasis the 'pure and ethical' tone of his speeches. Thirlwall mentions the anonymous tradition (given in Plutarch's *Vit. Demosth.*) that Demosthenes studied at one time under Plato; and adds that, be this true or not, Demosthenes' acquaintance, which we may of course assume, with Plato's writings, sufficiently explains, if explanation were needed, his lofty morality: which he seems to have been the *first* to introduce into Athenian courts and assemblies. These, moreover, were assemblies into which Plato himself would have declined, probably, the introduction of such sublime truths. CHAP. XII.

And this brings out the patriotism of Demosthenes, a quality which marks, perhaps more strongly than any other, the contrast of the philosopher with the orator. Plato is wholly unpatriotic; not only negatively,—as cosmopolitan—but positively disliking and utterly disapproving of Athens. Demosthenes, on the other hand, was consumed with a flame of patriotism that never burned dim.

Such were some of the motives that inspired the most vigorous and masterly exercise of the noblest language in the world during its period of greatest purity. And the Greek of Chrysostom is no more like the Greek of Demosthenes, than is the French of Bossuet, which has been with equally erroneous judgment also brought into the comparison[1].

Cicero.

With regard to Cicero and Lactantius scarcely a sentence needs to be written; and it will be remembered that Lactantius must be regarded as the representative of the Latin Fathers in point of style. It is true, as we have found Niebuhr remarking[2], that Lactantius did with Cicero what Q. Curtius did with Livy. But what was that? Did

The comparison of him with Lactantius.

[1] By La Harpe. Cf. Hallam, *Literary History*, IV. 54.
[2] Niebuhr, *Lectures on Roman History*, III. 307.

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Curtius ever attain to that 'gentle despotism' over the eyes and ears of his readers, in the exercise of which Livy emulates Thucydides? Did he ever reach the indescribable eloquence, the 'lactea ubertas' of which Quinctilian speaks? or luxuriate in that richness of style, which was the result of Livy's Homeric 'repose of intellect'[1]? And no more did Lactantius approach the beauty or the strength of one, who not only inspired his countrymen with a literary taste, but gave them a language wherewith to indulge it. It is idle to pretend for one moment that Lactantius ever emulated that singular felicity of adaptation to all classes of subjects, whether lofty or familiar, whether philosophical, forensic, or what may be summed up as epistolary, whether, in short, to use Cicero's own expression, they are *parva*, *modica*, or *magna*, which was exhibited by the only orator who ever realized his own ideal of excellence. As a means of illustrating these remarks, it may be suggested that a perusal of the 40th chapter of the *Orator*, a reflection on the almost completeness with which Cicero answers to his own delineation, and an inquiry into the claims of Lactantius to a similar distinction, would be found highly satisfactory.

The Preachers of Modern Europe that have been selected.

§ 2. In turning now to the Preachers of Modern Europe, I may be permitted to remind the reader that this Essay is but a sketch: and that, consequently, he must not expect in this chapter to meet with a regular and consecutive critique, especially when the extent of the subject is considered. I must necessarily confine myself to a few preachers only; but the list will contain some illustrious names, those of Luther, Bossuet, Massillon, Jeremy Taylor, Barrow, Robert Hall, and Edward Irving.

Luther and Augustine.

Luther loved Augustine; he called him the 'ablest and purest of all the doctors[2];' and the parallel between the

[1] Niebuhr, *Life and Letters*, I. 188.
[2] Luther's *Table Talk*, § 534.

two is in some respects a very close one. 'A more intimate comparison' (these are the words of an eminent patristic critic[1]) 'than that which exists between Luther and Augustine, can hardly be imagined. Luther cannot be understood without Augustine; nor the Reformation in general. Both Augustine and Luther walked through many mistaken paths before they attained to the right one and found peace.... They may also be compared as having gone through a decisive Crisis which had much similarity in the two cases. It was the spirit of St Paul that existed in them again, and his letters were the best for them; they were their first nourishment and sustenance, and helped them to get over the decisive turning-point of their lives. St Paul lived again in Augustine: and Augustine again in Luther[2]. It is one chain, one mind, one development.'

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Remarks of Böhringer.

Luther, however, resembles Augustine far more in his mental characteristics, than in the composition of his sermons. The plainness is the same in both: but Augustine rarely has the intense energy and almost violence of Luther. Practical effect, however, rather than an exercise or a display of learning, was the object of both preachers. To get at and to influence the *wills* of their hearers—this was the aim of the writer *De Servo* as well as of the writer *De Libero Arbitrio*. 'I don't at all like Philip to be present[3],' Luther would say, 'when I preach or lecture; but I make the best I can of it. I put the cross before me, and say to myself, "Philip, Jonas, Pomer, and the rest of them, have nothing to do with the question in hand:" and I try to persuade myself that I am as competent to fill

Practical effect an object common to both.

[1] Böhringer, *Kirchengeschichte in Biographieen* [Zurich, 1845] III. i. 758. I much regret that this book came too late into my hands to be used for the chapter on Augustine.

[2] It is interesting to compare this with Neander's likening of Augustine to St John, in my opinion by far the most profound comparison, though both are true. Cf. Chapter on Augustine in this Essay, sub. fin.

[3] Michelet's *Life of Luther*, p. 292.

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the pulpit as they.' And again 'If in my discourses I were to be thinking about Melancthon and the other doctors, I should do no good at all; but I preach in plain language to the plain unlearned people.... If I know the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin languages, I reserve them for our learned meetings, where they are of use[1].'

Luther's plainness of speech.

On this plainness of speech, as is well known, Mr Hallam grounded a charge against Luther of 'intemperance [of style, &c.], coarseness, inelegance, scurrility, wild paradox, that menaces the foundations of religious morality,' and some further faults of a grave nature. These remarks occur in his critique on Bossuet's *Histoire Universelle*, that is to say, on that part of it where the Variations of Protestant Churches begin to be treated. Admiring Bossuet with as much enthusiasm as he depreciates Luther, Mr Hallam speaks in the strongest terms of praise in commenting on the 'eagle of Meaux, lordly of form, fierce of eye, terrible in his beak and claws.' And the late Archdeacon Hare[2] has thus animadverted on the attitude of Hallam as contrasted with what appeared in his eyes a juster view of the case. 'To me.... Luther—if we take the two masses of his writings, which display different characters of style, according to the persons and objects they are designed for, *in the highest qualities of eloquence*, in the faculty of presenting grand truths, moral and spiritual ideas, vividly, clearly, in words which elevate and enlighten men's minds, and stir their hearts and control their wills[3], seems to be incomparably superior to Bossuet, almost as superior as Shakspeare to Racine, or as Ullswater to the

Hallam.

Archdeacon Hare.

[1] Michelet's *Life of Luther*, p. 293.

[2] To whose celebrated Note W, in Vol. II. of *The Mission of the Comforter*, I have been indebted for my knowledge of the whole matter, having referred to Hallam for the verification of the Archdeacon's references. (*Mission*, Vol. II. p. 660 of the whole work.)

[3] How exactly these are the three points which Augustine, after Cicero, would have mentioned as the three essential requisites. Perhaps Hare had the *De Doctrina*, or the *Orator*, in his mind at the time.

Serpentine. In fact, when turning from one to the other, I have felt at times as if I were passing out of a gorgeous crowded drawing-room, with its artificial lights and dizzying sounds, to run up a hill at sunrise.' CHAP. XII.

Bossuet compared with Basil,

Now it is with Bossuet that M. Villemain[1] classes Basil the Great. 'Bossuet renewed his [Basil's] vivid representations at Versailles.' And though there is a fervour, a reality, in the preacher of the fourth century which is wanting in his successor, I cannot think that the comparison does any injustice whatever to Basil, still less that it would injure Gregory Nazianzen, if applied to him[2].

and Massillon with Chrysostom.

Massillon is adopted by the same critic as the modern parallel of Chrysostom: and it is a pleasure to turn to the writings of this great man, as an adequate but not an undue representation in a modern garb of the 'golden' utterances from the priest's stall at Antioch, and the Archbishop's throne at Constantinople. I shall translate three extracts from the Paris edition of the Bishop of Clermont's works, published in 1853. But let me first record the warm praises of Niebuhr. Speaking of the *Histoire de la Minorité de Louis XV.* he says[3], 'place it among your books, not beside the writers of his own nation,—except, perhaps, Diderot and Montesquieu—but beside Thucydides and Sallust.' And a little before, he alludes in the same letter to *Le Petit Carême*, 'the sublimity and splendour of which you know.'

Niebuhr on Massillon.

My first extract contains a part of Massillon's *Portrait of an Infidel:—*

Extract from the portrait of an infidel.

'An[4] infidel—are you sure that you know what that is? It is a man without morals, without honesty, without faith, without character, who has no rule but his pas-

[1] *Tableau de l'Eloquence.*

[2] Cf. on Bossuet, the Appendix to Ch. XII.

[3] Niebuhr, *Life and Letters*, I. 263.

[4] Massillon, *First Shrovetide Sermon.*

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sions, no law but his unholy thoughts, no master but his desires, no restraint but the fear of authority, no God but himself. An unnatural child: for he thinks that chance alone has given him fathers; an unfaithful friend, for he looks on men only as the bitter fruits of a wild and fortuitous concourse, and on himself as bound to them only by transient ties: a cruel master, for he is persuaded that he only is strong, he only is happy, who has his full desires. For who henceforth can trust himself to you? You no longer fear God: you no longer regard man: you look for nothing beyond the present life: to you virtue and vice appear as the prejudices of childhood, as the results of the credulity of the nations.'

The downright and uncompromising tone of this passage strongly recals the tone of Chrysostom in some of his outspoken rebukes and vigorous appeals: and we must bear in mind while we read the delineation, what sort of forms Infidelity assumed in Massillon's time[1]. This, so far from derogating from the strength of the language, will add to it by substantiating its truthfulness. In the same sermon we find a picture of the 'True Christian:'—

Massillon on the 'True Christian.'

'But religion raises the Christian above his very virtues. It makes him yet greater in the secret places of his heart, and before the eyes of God, than in the sight of man. He pardons without pride; he is disinterested without affectation; he suffers without wishing to be noticed: he moderates his passions without perceiving it himself: he alone ignores the merit and glory of his actions: far from looking on himself with satisfaction, he is more ashamed of his virtues than the sinner of his vices: far from seeking to be applauded, he hides his works of light as though they were works

[1] Massillon was born in 1663 and died in 1742.

of darkness; love of duty alone enters into his virtue; he acts as under the eye of God alone, and as though there were no other man on earth. Oh! what an exaltation is this. Find, if you can, something in the universe which shall be rightly called greater[1].'

Lastly, we nowhere find that tone of most musical pathos, in which both Chrysostom and Massillon were masters, better illustrated than in the following words on the 'Death of the Just[2]:'—

The 'Death of the Just.'

'How pleasant, when we have gained the port, to call up the memory of storm and tempest! How we love, when conquerors in the race, to tread over in spirit our steps again, again to gaze on the points in our career that were most marked by the toils, the obstacles, and the difficulties, which have made them famous.

'At such a time the just man seems to me another Moses, dying on the holy mountain; who, ere he expires—turning his head from the summit of that sacred place, and casting his eyes over that expanse of peoples and of kingdoms through which he has just run his course, and which he now leaves behind him,—looks there again for the innumerable dangers which he has escaped, the combats of so many conquered nations, the weariness of the desert, the ambuscades of Midian, the murmurs and the calumnies of his brethren, the rocks that he has rent, the difficulties of the road that he has surmounted, the perils of Egypt avoided, the waters of the Red Sea opened to his passage, hunger and thirst and weariness combated. And so, reaching at last the blessed term of so many toils, and hailing at last from afar off the land promised to his fathers, he

[1] Massillon, *First Shrovetide Sermon.*
[2] Id. *Sermon on Advent Sunday.*

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sings a song of thanksgiving, dying in a trance of joy, both at the memory of so many dangers escaped, and at the sight of the place of rest, which the Lord shews him from afar, while he looks on the holy hill where he is about to expire, as the recompense of all his toils, and the blessed end of his course.'

Jeremy Taylor.

Turning now to the English Divines, we find Jeremy Taylor preeminent above all; and Taylor was a diligent student of Augustine and of Chrysostom. Coleridge used to call him 'Chrysostom[1].' Other detached *dicta* of Coleridge are, 'Taylor's was a great and lovely mind[2];' 'the most eloquent, and one of the most learned, of our divines[3];' 'without any fellow for mere eloquence[4];' and he used to reckon Shakspeare and Bacon, Milton and Taylor, as the four great geniuses of old English literature, four-square, each against each. The following words are taken from the parallel of Milton and Taylor in the 'Apologetic Preface[5]:' 'Whether supporting or assailing, he makes his way either by argument, or by appeals to the affections, unsurpassed even by the schoolmen in subtlety, agility, and logic-wit, and unrivalled by the most rhetorical of the Fathers in the copiousness and vividness of his expressions and illustrations.'

Coleridge's remarks.

Barrow.

Barrow studied Chrysostom also, but reproduced him through a wholly different medium: and it has been well remarked[6], that we find as few traces of the golden mouth in the ample page of Barrow, as of the gnomic morality of Euripides in the declamation of Burke, or the sparkle of Ovid in the solemnity of Milton. South, called by the writer just quoted, the 'theological Junius,' resembled Taylor less even than Barrow did, and Chrysostom least of all.

South.

[1] Coleridge, *Table Talk*, 91 n.
[2] Id. *Table Talk*, 91.
[3] Coleridge, *The Friend*, II. 108.
[4] Id. *Table Talk*, 91 n.
[5] Appended to the first volume of Coleridge's *Poems*, 1836.
[6] Willmott's *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, p. 275.

In the notice of Chrysostom in Chap. IX. of this Essay, there was introduced a calm and beautiful passage of the Archbishop's on drawing down the heavenly presence upon our table. The following extract, from Taylor's *House of Feasting*, tends to shew how that few desires, and slumbering passions, and wants easily satisfied, are productive of true happiness, and so as it were prepare the house for Christ. The language is less beautiful than Chrysostom's, in so far as it is more rhetorical:— CHAP. XII.

Extract from Taylor's 'House of Feasting.'

'For as it is in plants which nature voluntarily thrusts forth, she makes regular provisions, and dresses them with strength and ornament, with easiness and full stature; but if you thrust a jessamine there where she would have a daisy grow, or bring the tall fir-tree from dwelling in his own country, and transport the orange or the almond-tree near the fringes of the north star: nature is displeased and becomes unnatural, and starves her sucklings, and renders you a return less than your charge and expectation; so it is in all our appetites; when they are natural and proper, nature feeds them, and makes them healthful and lusty;....but if you thrust an appetite into her which she intended not, she gives you sickly and uneasy banquets: you must struggle with her for every drop of milk she gives beyond her own needs; you may get gold from her entrails, and at a great price provide ornaments for your queens, and princely women: but our lives are spent in the purchase: and when you have got them you must have more, for these cannot content you nor nourish the spirit.'

He presently after points the moral in a noble sentence:

'Health is the opportunity of wisdom, the fairest scene of religion, the advantages of the glorifications of God: the charitable ministeries to men: it is a state

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of joy and thanksgiving, and in every of its periods feels a pleasure from the blessed emanations of a merciful providence[1].'

His delineations of Our Lord's earthly sojourn.

In his delineations of our Lord's sojourn upon earth, I cannot help thinking that Taylor surpasses any of the early preachers of the first five centuries. One sentence, quoted by his biographer[2] is beyond all price:—

Extract from the Sermon on 'Godly Fear.' Part I.

'Therefore He came, not in the spirit of Elias, but with meekness and gentle insinuations, mild as the breath of heaven, not willing to disturb the softest stalk of a violet.'

And again, in the noble discourse on *The Faith and Patience of the Saints*, (part I.), he says:—

'All that Christ came for was, or was mingled with, suffering.....Presently after the angels had finished their Hallelujahs, He was forced to fly to save His life; and the air became full of the shrieks of desolate mothers of Bethlehem for their dying babes. God had no sooner made Him illustrious with a voice from heaven, and the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Him in the waters of baptism, but He was delivered over to be tempted and assaulted by the devil in the wilderness. His transfiguration was a bright ray of glory; but then also He entered into a cloud, and was told a sad story of what He was to suffer at Jerusalem....For this Jesus was like a rainbow, which God set in the clouds as a sacrament to confirm a promise, and establish a grace: He was half made up of the glories of the light, and half of the moisture of a cloud;...half triumph, and half sorrow.'

Rapid transition to the earlier years of the 19th century.

The nature of the present sketch compels us to pass at once from the seventeenth century, to a notice of two

[1] Jeremy Taylor, Serm. XV. *House of Feasting*, Part I.
[2] Willmott, p. 250, from the Sermon, *Of Godly Fear*, Part I.

preachers of great celebrity in the earlier decades of our own.

Robert Hall.

And first, of Robert Hall. He, like Demosthenes, was not gifted by nature with powers of improvisation. But he had a strong dialectical turn; and, by strenuous cultivation, this faculty became the prominent one in his mental constitution, decked out and well relieved by a fair and sometimes a splendid employment of imaginative aids. In perfectly distinct conception and expression of every thought, he may remind us, though very different in other respects, of the acute and able Athanasius.

The following extract is a good specimen of his best style; and is taken from the Funeral Sermon on the Princess Charlotte; with which it is usual to compare Bossuet on Henrietta of Orleans, and Jeremy Taylor on Lady Carbery:—

Extract from the Funeral Sermon on the Princess Charlotte.

'Is it now any subject of regret, think you, to this amiable Princess so suddenly removed, that "her sun went down while it was yet day?" or that prematurely snatched from prospects the most brilliant and enchanting, she was compelled to close her eyes so soon on a world of whose grandeur she formed so conspicuous a part? No; other objects occupy her mind; other thoughts engage her attention, and will continue to engage it for ever. All things with her are changed; and, viewed with that pure and ineffable light for which we humbly hope religion prepared her. The lustre of the diadem is scarcely visible; Majesty emits a feeble and sickly ray; and all ranks and conditions of men appear but so many troops of pilgrims in different garbs, toiling through the same vale of tears, distinguished only by different degrees of wretchedness.'

'In the full fruition of eternal joys, she is so far from looking back with lingering regret on what she has

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quitted, that she is surprised it had the power of affecting her so much; that she took so deep an interest in the scenes of this shadowy state of being, while so near to an "eternal weight of glory." As far as memory may be supposed to contribute to our happiness, by associating the present with the past, it is not the recollection of her noble birth and exalted prospects, but that she visited the abodes of the poor, and learned to weep with those that weep; that, surrounded with the fascinations of pleasure, she was not inebriated by its charms; that she resisted the strongest temptations to pride, preserved her ears open to truth: was impatient of the voice of flattery; in a word, that she sought and cherished the inspirations of piety, and walked humbly with her God,—*this* is the fruit which survives when the flower withers, the only ornaments and treasures we can carry into eternity[1].'

The extract which follows is a very fine specimen of what Augustine calls *temperata dictio*. It is taken from the famous Sermon entitled *Modern Infidelity Considered;* and is a statement of the superiority of the old Pagan myths over utter scepticism:—

Extract from 'Modern Infidelity.'

'False and corrupt, however, as was the religion of the Pagans, (if it deserve the name,) and defective and often vicious as was the character of their imaginary deities, it was still better for the world that the void of knowledge should be filled with these, than abandoned to a total scepticism; for, if both systems are equally false, they are not equally pernicious. When the fictions of heathenism consecrated the memory of its heroes and legislators, it invested them for the most part with those qualities which were in the greatest repute.

[1] Robert Hall, *Sermon on the Death of the Princess Charlotte*, p. 30. Cf. Appendix to Ch. XII.

> They were supposed to possess in the highest degree the virtues in which it was most honourable to excel; and to be the witnesses and patrons of those perfections in others, by which their own character was chiefly distinguished. Men saw, or rather fancied they saw, in these supposed deities the qualities they most admired, dilated to a larger size, moving in a higher sphere; and associated with the power, dignity, and happiness of superior natures. With such ideal models before them, and conceiving themselves continually acting under the eye of such spectators and judges, they felt a real elevation; their eloquence became more impassioned, their patriotism inflamed, and their courage exalted[1].'

Edward Irving.

But, far more interesting to a Patristic student than even Robert Hall, though I have never yet seen the points of interest definitely stated, nor indeed even hinted at, is Edward Irving.

Recals the early patristic character.

As far as I am justified in pronouncing an opinion at all, I do not hesitate to record it to the following effect; that Edward Irving approached far more nearly to a realization of the early patristic character in many of its bearings, than any other English Divine since the reformation. Coleridge[2] has said of him, that 'sometimes he has five or six pages together of the purest eloquence, and then an outbreak of almost madman's babble.' What could be a more perfect description of many parts in the great Rhetorical Church Fathers of the fourth and the early part of the fifth century? in Basil, in Nazianzen, in Jerome, and to a less degree, but still in some measure, in Chrysostom and in Augustine?

But a more strongly defined, and perhaps the most striking feature of all in Irving's character, is the analogy

[1] Robert Hall, *Modern Infidelity*, p. 32. [2] *Table Talk*, 73.

CHAP. XII. which he bears to Tertullian. The 'Unknown Tongues' were to Irving precisely what Montanism was to Tertullian. The impatient yearning after a palpable manifestation of the spiritual, the predominant realistic element, was uppermost in both characters. At this parallel I can but hint; but it might perhaps be worked out with advantage.

Analogy between the characters of Irving and Tertullian.

Extracts from his Sermons.

I now proceed to extract a specimen of his fervid style, reminding me strongly of the best parts in Nazianzen, but far surpassing him in chaste expression. The subject is, that 'God can create a fairer world than this:'—

God can create a fairer world than this.

'Of[1] how many cheap, exquisite joys are these five senses the inlets? And who is he that can look upon the beautiful scenes of the morning, lying in the freshness of the dew, and the joyful light of the risen Sun, and not be happy? Cannot God create another world many times more fair? and cast over it a mantle of light many times more lovely, and wash it with purer dews than ever dropped from the eyelids of the morning? Can He not shut up winter in his hoary caverns, or send him howling over another domain? Can He not form the crystal eye more full of sweet sensations, and fill the soul with a richer faculty of conversing with nature, than the most gifted poet did ever possess? Think you the creative function of God is exhausted in this dark and troublous ball of earth? or that this body and soul of human nature are the masterpiece of His architecture?'

The next is on the conduct of the Soul, when brought to a 'knowledge of the truth.' The tone of tender earnestness is quite Augustinian; the language more florid than is usual with him:—

[1] I regret that I have no copy of Irving's works by me to verify these extracts, which were made some time ago from a copy of *Selections* taken from Irving's works. The last will be seen to have a separate authority.

'Thus the Soul, when she betaketh herself to consult the oracles of the Lord, cometh to love Him at every new step of discovery, and to admire His mercy and forgiveness and most disinterested goodness towards her, while she lay enveloped in a darkness of her own making.... Then she beginneth to burst the shell of her former darkness, and to open her eyes on light; her callow nakedness sprouteth with the divine plumage: she spreadeth her wings and ariseth to heaven: and floateth over the oceans of eternity: she soareth like the eagle, and looketh steadily into the face of God: she feeleth for the Divine Spirit within her, and setteth her heart upon all excellency. She glorieth evermore in the predictions and promises of God to put her corruptions to death, and to reconcile her unto Himself: to write holiness upon all her members, and holiness upon her inward; to strike fruits of righteousness in her barren bosom; to take away her hard and stony heart, and give her a heart of flesh, upon the tablets whereof to write His laws, that it may become a temple for his Holy Spirit to dwell in: to hide all her transgressions, and cover all her sins, and give her rest from a clamorous conscience, and accursed fears, that she may have peace, and be refreshed with the full river of joy, which maketh glad the river of God. She comprehendeth the fulness of His grace; she bindeth herself to holiness with cords of the strongest love, and rejoiceth in her God as all her Salvation and all her joy.'

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The Soul brought to a knowledge of the truth.

The following most powerful appeal, which, when delivered with all Irving's intensity and enforced by his extraordinary look and manner, must have been full of awe, reminds us on the very face of it of those antithetical series which abound in the Asiatic eloquence of the fourth century:

The following extracts closely resemble the appeals so common in the 4th century sermons.

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The great change of heart.

'Now let us reason together. Is not that as great a change, when your physician chambers you up, and restricts your company to nurses, and your diet to simples? Is not that as great a change, when you leave the dissipated city, outworn with its excitements, and live with solitude and inconvenience in your summer quarters? And is not that a greater change, which stern law makes, when it mures up our person, and gives us outcasts to company with? And where is the festive life of those who sail the wide ocean? And where the gaieties of the campaigning soldier? And how does the wandering beggar brook his scanty life? If for the sake of a pained limb you will undergo the change, will you not for the removal of eternal pains of spirit and flesh? If, for a summer of refreshment amongst the green of earth, and the freshness of ocean, ye will undergo the change, will ye not for the rich contents of heaven? And if at the command of Law ye will, and if again the sailor will, and for honour the soldier will, and for necessity the strolling beggar will;—men and brethren, will ye not, to avoid hell, to reach Heaven, to please the voice of God, to gain the inheritance of wealth and honour, and to feed your spirits' starved necessities? Oh men, will ye not muster resolution to enterprise the change?'

His 'terrible' style.

Of his terrible style—and the terrible of Irving strongly resembles *in kind* though not in expression the terrible of Tertullian—the next extract will give an adequate idea:—

'But come at length it will, when Revenge shall array herself to go forth, and Anguish shall attend her; and from the wheels of that chariot Ruin and Dismay shall shoot far and wide among the enemies of the King, whose desolation shall not tarry, and whose

The end of all things.

destruction, as the wing of the whirlwind, shall be swift—hopeless as the conclusion of eternity and reversion of doom. Then around the fiery concave of the wasteful pit the clang of grief shall ring; and the flinty heart which repelled tender mercy shall strike its fangs into its proper bosom: and the soft and gentle spirit which dissolved in voluptuous pleasures, shall dissolve in weeping sorrows and outbursting lamentations. And the gay glory of time shall depart, and sportful Liberty shall be bound for ever, in the chain of obdurate necessity. The green earth with all her blooming beauty, and bowers of peace, shall depart: and the ever-welcome voice of friendship, and the tender whisperings of full-hearted affection shall depart, for the sad discord of weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. And the tender names of children, father and mother, and wife and husband, with the communion of domestic love and mutual affection, and the inward touches of natural instinct—which family compact, when uninvaded by discord, wraps the live-long day into one swell of tender emotion, making earth's lowly scenes worthy of heaven itself—all, all shall pass away; and instead shall come the level lake that burneth, and the solitary dungeon, and the desolate bosom, and the throes and tossings of horror and hopelessness, and the worm that dieth not, and the fire that is not quenched.'

I will close these extracts from Irving by one which stands in strong contrast to the preceding, and yet is manifestly the outpouring of the same ardent, yearning, impatient soul; a passage quite in the vein of Tertullian's pathos, but as far beyond him in style as it is superior in a delicate and ethereal conception:—

'I cannot think of heaven otherwise than as the perfection of every good thing which my mind conceiveth:

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On Heaven.

the fulfilment of every pious purpose, the gratification of every devout wish, and the perfection of this unfinished creature which I feel myself to be.

'I hope this body will not fail as it now doth, and languish, and stop short of the energetic purposes of the mind. I hope that the instruments of thought within the brain will not grow numb, and refuse obedience to the will, and that the fountains of feeling within the heart will not subside and dry up, when called upon too much.

'I hope that time will open its narrow gates, and admit a thousand acts and processes which it now strangleth in the narrowness of its porch. And I would fain add the wings of the morning, that I might travel with the speed of thought to the seats of my affections, and gratify them without constraint.

'And oh! I hope that in heaven the instability of virtue will be removed, and that there may be no more commonplace talk about the golden mean, but that the heart may drink deep and not be intoxicated with its affections, the head think on, and not be wearied with its cogitations.

'And I hope there will be no narrowness of means, no penury, no want; and that benevolence will be no more racked with inability to bestow[1].'

Concluding Remarks.

With this complete expression of all heavenly aspiration, the foregoing fragmentary review is brought to a close. If I understand rightly a note on p. 283 of Dr Gregory's *Life of Robert Hall*, Sir James Mackintosh had intended to undertake some review of the sort on a tolerably extended scale; but the scheme was cut short by his un-

[1] Of this passage, which must be familiar to readers of Irving's *Sermons*, I am unable to give the reference, having only seen it in the papers set at Oxford in 1857 during the examination for the Ireland Scholarship.

expected decease. A careful work which should, with some pretensions to completeness, give a comparative estimate of the ancient Christian preachers and their modern European successors, would form a valuable accession to our critical literature.

APPENDIX TO CHAP. XII.

On MR HALLAM'S *Note* (*Literary History*, IV. 52), *compare the subjoined extracts :—*

BOSSUET.

O nuit désastreuse ! O nuit effroyable ! où retentit tout-à-coup, comme un éclat de tonnerre, celle étonnante nouvelle ; Madame se meurt ! Madame est morte ! Qui de nous ne se sentit frappé à ce coup, comme si quelque tragique accident avoit désolé sa famille ? Au premier bruit d'un mal si étrange, on accourut à St Cloud de toutes parts ; on trouve tout consterné excepté le cœur de cette Princesse ; partout on etend des cris : partout on voit la douleur et le désespoir, et l'image de la mort.—*On Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans.*

ROBERT HALL.

Without the slightest warning, without a moment's opportunity of immediate preparation, in the midst of the deepest tranquillity, at midnight, a voice was heard in the palace, not of singing men and singing women, not of revelry and mirth, but the cry, *Behold the Bridegroom cometh.* The mother in the bloom of youth, spared just long enough to hear the tidings of her infant's death, almost immediately, as if summoned by his spirit, follows him into eternity. 'It is a night much to be remembered.'—*On Charlotte, Princess of Wales.*

CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning a conjectural estimate of the literary rank which the Church-Fathers of the First Five Centuries might have held, apart from a connexion with Catholic Christianity: and, also, concerning some Heretical Preachers.

A Postscript.

CHAP. XIII.

Objection to the first part of the inquiry.

THE exception which may be taken against the first portion of the inquiry suggested in the heading of this chapter, is too obvious to need any special pointing out. It is necessarily incident to all inquiries which presuppose that which has really happened not to have happened.

I will, however, venture to state what I had proposed to myself to do in this chapter, believing that very much incidental illustration might be thrown upon the early Church Fathers by an undertaking of the sort. A variety of circumstances render it impossible for me to do more than give a bare statement of what had been intended.

The sources of conjecture.

There are many sources to which we might apply for the formation of such a conjectural estimate as I have indicated. We might make a selection of the Pagan authors during the prescribed period, more especially of such of them as have come into direct collision with Christian writers. Thus, we might scan, first of all, what Niebuhr calls the 'heavenly features of M. Aurelius.'

M. Aurelius.

> 'Formerly,' he remarks, 'we knew him only in his mature age from his own meditations: a golden book: though there are things in it which cannot be read without deep grief; for there we find this purest of men without happiness or joy. No one who reads

his work, especially the first book, in which he goes through all the circumstances of his life, and thanks every one to whom he owes any obligation, can help loving him; the cases where he returns more than he owes, only shew his extremely amiable nature.

'But we know him now from his correspondence also with Cornelius Fronto: in the happy time of youth bordering upon manhood: in the full bloom of life, when he was very happy[1].'

Julian.

We might next take the other great imperial genius, who has made a name in Roman Literature, Julian. He was 'a man of extraordinary mind, as every one must feel who reads his writings. He was a true Attic; and since the time of Dion Chrysostomus, Greece had not produced such an elegant author; he stands far above Libanius[2].' Libanius himself would undoubtedly form a third on our list; and to him we would add Symmachus. The eloquent Symmachus, to whom Heyne assigns the three attributes of *prudentia*, *cautio*, and *verecundia*[3], should receive a very especial notice; and Ammianus Marcellinus should be also added to the list.

Libanius.

Symmachus.

Amm. Marcellinus.

Out of a comparative examination of the writings of these men, we might perhaps provide ourselves with very effective materials for a conjectural estimate of the literary rank which the Fathers might have held, apart from the stimulus with which Christianity furnished them.

Probable lowering of literary reputation in some cases.

Many, no doubt, we should degrade to the rank of mere sophists: to others we should assign no literary rank at all. Of all the Ante-Nicene Fathers, however, I can think of none who would more certainly maintain his right to be considered not only a literary man, but a literary man of eminence, than Tertullian.

Tertullian still eminent.

[1] Niebuhr, *Lectures on Roman History*, III. 247 sq. [2] *Ibid.* III. 325.
[3] *Heyne Opusc.* quoted by Milman, III. 169.

CHAP. XIII.

Second limb of the inquiry.

With regard to the second portion of the design I had entertained for this chapter, it was suggested to me by Augustine's critique on Ambrose, when he heard him at Milan. We must remember, too, that Augustine heard him to great advantage; he was in the first bloom of Christianized religious impression, and he had been greatly moved by the solemn and devotional worship of Milan, particularly by the Cantus Ambrosianus[1].

Faustus more eloquent than Ambrose.

Yet he said, that, though Ambrose was impressive to the last degree, he considered Faustus the Manichee to be more eloquent than the Bishop. In Neander also[2], mention is made of the 'skilful eloquence and brilliant wit' of Faustus, who is styled 'of Mileve in Numidia.'

Conclusion.

From these and one or two other considerations, I have been brought to think that a profitable search might be made into all the fragments or notices we have of the remains of the Heretical Preachers, together with a summary of the historical accounts of the effects produced by their preaching.

[1] Milman, *History of Christianity*, III. 523.

[2] Neander, *Church History*, IV. 491. He tells us that Augustine has preserved some important fragments of Faustus in his reply to his work on the Manichæan doctrines.

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